This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

2523 4.58.5 (3)

Harvard College Library

GIFT OF

THE AUTHOR

Presented to the
Harvard College Library
by the author
Paull F Baum
2523x.585

The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot

BY

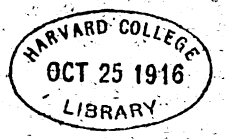
PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM, PH. D.

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3]

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

1916

2 5234.58.5



The Author.

THE MEDIÆVAL LEGEND OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

The legendary *Life of Judas the Betrayer,* based, it is usually said, on the Greek myth of Œdipus, is found in almost every language and country of mediæval Europe. It was written down in Latin as early as the twelfth century. By the end of the thirteenth century it was turned into the vernacular in lands as far apart as Wales, Catalonia, and Bohemia. At the close of the Middle Ages it had become the possession of the folk, and since that period—to some extent even during the fifteenth century—it has spread northward and eastward into Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, and Bulgaria. It was related in Greek, probably in the Middle Ages, although the manuscripts are of a much later date. It was still told orally in Galicia at the end of the last century. As a regular part of the ecclesiastical literature of the West it received canonization, so to say, late in the thirteenth century, in the great legendary of Jacopo da Voragine; but, on the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that in the Middle Ages, so far as I have been able to learn, none of the reputable church writers (with the exception of Jacopo) recognized or even mentioned it. And furthermore, mediæval sculptors and carvers of wood and ivory, who gave themselves with so much zeal to the plastic representation of legendary matter, completely eschewed or overlooked the 'early life' of Judas. Not indeed that either the church writers or artists sought to avoid contact with such a wicked character; on the contrary, they devoted considerable space to him, rejecting only his apocryphal career.[1] However this

[1] Nowhere in mediæval painting, moreover, is the legend of Judas

omission may be explained, the fact must be recognized as of some interest.

Judas (the usual story runs) was the son of Jewish parents living at Jerusalem: his father's name was Reuben, his mother's Cyborea. One night Cyborea dreamed that she was about to conceive, and that her child was destined to become the destruction of the whole Jewish race. In great anxiety she related her dream to Reuben, who advised her to pay no attention to such matters—they came from the evil spirit. In due time, however, a son was born; the memory of the dream returned, and in fear lest possibly it might come true, the infant, Judas, was set adrift on the sea in a small chest. Wind and wave brought him to the island of Scariot—whence his name. Here the Queen of the island, who had no children and was eager for a young prince to succeed to the throne, discovered the babe, which was very handsome, and, sending word throughout the land that she was with child, had Judas secretly nursed until she could proclaim him as her own. Thus Judas was brought up in royal fashion, as heir to the kingdom. But it came about before very long that the Queen had a son by the King. The two children grew up together, but after a time the wickedness that was in Judas's nature began to come to the surface, and he frequently beat and otherwise abused his putative brother. In spite of the Queen's remonstrances he continued to maltreat the true prince, until finally in a fit of anger the Queen made known to him his irregular origin. In wrath at learning this Judas seized the first opportunity to kill his brother, then for fear of the consequences took ship and fled to Jerusalem. There his courtly manners and evil instincts secured him a place in Pilate's retinue. One day Pilate, looking into his neighbor's garden, was seized with an irresistible desire for some fruit which he saw there; and Judas agreed to procure it for him. Now, although Judas was ignorant of the fact, the garden and the fruit were the possession of his own father, Reuben. Before he succeeded in gathering this fruit Reuben appeared; an altercation followed, which developed into a fight; and finally Reuben was slain. Since there were no witnesses to the murder, Reuben was reported to have died suddenly, and Judas, with Pilate's connivance, took in marriage the widowed Cyborea, together with her house and property. The bride was extremely unhappy and sighed frequently. Being asked one day by her husband the cause of her grief, she related enough

---

treated; but that is more natural, since the painters devoted themselves less to legendary than to purely Biblical scenes.

of her story to enable Judas to recognize his double crime of parricide and incest. Both were afflicted with great remorse, but on Cyborea's suggestion Judas resolved to go to Jesus and seek pardon and forgiveness. He soon became a favorite disciple, and was made steward of the Twelve. But again his evil nature asserted itself, and he betrayed his Master to the Jews for thirty pieces of silver: thereafter he again suffered remorse and, having returned the money, hanged himself.

The *raison d'être* of this tale is generally agreed to be a pious intention of blackening the name of Judas; but sometimes it appears to be a wish to show that no matter how great the sin, true repentance brings full pardon. These two intentions vary in prominence in the different versions, but the latter, which would seem to be ancillary, gained weight and emphasis probably through the influence of such legends as those of Gregory, Albanus, and Julian, which came into vogue at about the same time as that of Judas. The man who first told or wrote down the life of Judas, and those who repeated it after him, lacked a command of narrative sufficient to make their meaning perfectly clear: and beneath the surface, whether the writers themselves were conscious of it or not, there may have been, as some think, an uncomprehended notion of the *ineluctabile fatum*. But if any part of the original intention of the Judas legend was to inculcate the moral of divine forgiveness, as was clearly the case with the other legends just mentioned, it may be thought to bespeak very little intelligence in the minds of its authors that they overlooked the true nature of his sins, and did not recognize the difference between crimes that are predestined by Fate, or are ignorantly committed, and those which are undertaken with malice prepense.[2] So it has

[2] Notwithstanding the constantly repeated view, discussed at some length by Littré apropos of the Old French *Grégoire* (*Histoire de la langue française*, Paris, 1863, vol. II, § viii), and elaborated with much

been objected that to point a moral and manifest by *examples* God's infinite mercy for the penitent other more satisfactory tales could have been found, where the sins were actual, not unintentional; but the truth is rather that the Middle Ages were not too particular about finical consistency. If the story were a good one and the moral a good one, why, what more could be desired? From the early Fathers and homilists down, there was ample precedent for finding instructive illustrations where they did not exist, as well as for appending morals that did not fit with extreme accuracy. And although this is not by any means an extenuation, it is sufficient explanation to obviate the stricture of Littré, Graf, and others, that the mediæval story-tellers missed fire in relating these legends for pious purposes. There is little doubt that mediæval readers and hearers caught the point as it was intended for them, and . . . *basta*.

Latin Versions

Previous to Professor E. K. Rand's *Mediæval Lives of Judas Iscariot* [3] no earlier version of the legendary life of

learning by Graf (*Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, Turin, 1892, I, pp. 273-310), I am unable to see in these legends, particularly in that of Judas, genuine evidence of a mediæval belief in fatalism. The purpose of the Judas, as has been said, was to make as repugnant as possible one who had participated in the death of Christ; and to accomplish this there may have been a clumsy adaptation of events from the story of Œdipus and other myths—(but this is as yet a 'case not proven')—so that what appearance there is of fatalism may be the result of an insufficient amalgamation of Œdipodean traits; but the fundamental conception of the Judas legend is still the wickedness of Judas, a sort of Pauline belief in original damnation and inherent sinfulness, which is utterly distinct from the Greek idea of Destiny.

[3] *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston, 1913, pp. 305-16.

Judas was known than that in the chapter on Mathias in Jacopo da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*,[4] composed probably between 1270 and 1275. Professor Rand's article brought to light three new versions, two of which he printed entire, and an older manuscript than any hitherto known of the version used by Jacopo. My own researches have revealed many more manuscripts of the known versions, and thus more abundant evidence of the popularity of the legend, but no versions that can be actually termed new. Altogether I have been able to find forty-two Latin texts of the legend (including those previously known). In the following list I have arranged them approximately in chronological order according to the dates of the manuscripts in which they appear.[5]

s. xii	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 14489, fol. 109v. Cf. Rand, p. 313.	*Ap.*
xii-xiii	Rome, Vatican, Palatinus 619, fol. 18. Cf. Rand, p. 305.	*Lv.*
xiii	Cambridge, St. John's College 214, fol. 159. Cf. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, etc., p. 243, and see below, p. 497.	*Lc.*
	Reims 1275, fol. 2. Life of Pilate precedes, but has nothing in common with the usual life of Pilate, as in the *Legenda Aurea*. Cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits de Bibliothèques Publiques*. Départements. XXXIX. Reims.	*Hr.*
	Munich, Lat. 21259, fol. 231v. Cf. Catalogue of Schmeller, etc., II, iii, p. 303; and Rand, pp. 306, 307. "The script," says Professor Rand, who has	

[4] *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea* . . . rec. Dr. Th. Graesse, ed. tertia, Vratisl. . . . 1890, Cap. XLV, pp. 183-8. Nearly half of the chapter on Mathias is devoted to Judas.

[5] Of these, *Ap*, *Ll*, *Lv*, *Hr*, *Rm*, *Ra* were discussed by Professor Rand; *Pi*, *Lg*, *Lk*, *Mw*, *Pz*, *Px* have been mentioned in other previous studies of the Judas legend. The remaining thirty are here brought together for the first time.

examined the MS., "if not still in the twelfth century, should be dated, I am convinced, very early in the thirteenth." *Rm.*

Munich, Lat. 23490, fol. 20. Cf. the catalogue of Halm-Meyer, II, iv (1881). Printed by Mone, *Anzeiger*, VII (1838), col. 532. See below, pp. 510 ff. *Pi.*

British Museum, Additional 15404, fol. 19. Formerly belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Camberon, in Hainault. Life of Pilate follows, which, as in *Hr*, is not the usual *life*. *Hb.*

Paris, Arsenal 387, fol. 70v. Cf. Catalogue, I, p. 249; and Rand, p. 306. *Ra.*

Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 633, fol. 97v. Portions of the *Judas* are practically illegible. *Rb.*

Legenda Aurea, ch. XLV. *Ll.*

Oxford, Bodleian 90, § 5. See below, p. 499. *Lj.*

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 225, fol. 176v. Crude summary of the legend based on some MS. of Type R, with Cymbrea for Cyborea, and a strange disregard of syntax throughout. Ends imperfectly at the point where Pilate is overcome with desire for Reuben's fruit. *Rg.*

s. xiii late British Museum, Royal 9 A XIV, fol. 255. Doubtless a copy of *Ll*, although it omits the account of the betrayal and the moralizing on Judas's death. Preceded by a life of Pilate. *Lk.*

British Museum, Harley 2851, fol. 43. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 401) dates the manuscript ca. 1300; but he is hardly right in describing as "small quarto" a page which is about three by four inches. *Lh.*

British Museum, Royal 8 E XVII, fol. 126. Professor Rand, following the old catalogue dated it s. XV; the new official catalogue correctly assigns it to the late thirteenth century. *Lg.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11867, fol. 179. Formerly St. Germain-des-Prés 376, a miscellaneous collection, including Cicero's *De Amicitia*, drinking songs, hymns to the Virgin, etc. *Rg.*

s. xiii-xiv Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 210, fol. 46b. Cf. *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce to the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1840, p. 35; and Paul Meyer in *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1880, pp. 75-6. *Ld.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 323, fol. 3v. Apparently a copy of *Lv*. *Lf.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4413, fol. 19. Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire alphabétique*, II (1891), p. 480. Lives of Pilate and Judas in Latin, preceded and followed by works in French. *Rn.*

xiv early British Museum, Royal 12 E I, fol. 165 b, continued on fol. 154. Abridged from *Legenda Aurea*. Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, p. 540. *Lr.*

xiv Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4895 A, fol. 120v. Follows the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo. Slightly glossed in the margins. *Ro.*

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, IV, cap. vi. Rolls ed. IV, pp. 350 ff. Free condensation probably from *Ll*. *Lm.*

Douai 847, fol. 182v. Cf. the old quarto *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques des Départements*, t. VI, p. 593. *Hd.*

Cambridge, University Library Ff II 20. Extract from *Legenda Aurea*. Cf. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, II, p. 344. *Ln.*

Cambridge, University Library Oo VII 48, fol. 30b. Copy of either *Lv* or *Ll*. *Lo.*

British Museum, Additional 18347, fol. 128 b. Originally from St. Georgenberg (Tyrol). Copy of *Ll*. Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, p. 603. *La.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, fol. 232b. Beautifully executed manuscript; copied from *Rg*, but contains the whole *vita*. *Ro.*

xiv late Oxford, Bodleian 458, fol. 184v. Copy of *Lj*. *Ls.*

s. xiv-xv Bamberg 209 Q. V. 35, fol. 211. Probably from *Ll.* *Lt.*

xv Lille 138, fol. 20v. Written by Henry Descamps in 1481. *Rl.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 275, fol. 239. Copy of *Ll*, but followed by a kind of summary: "Judas scarioth fratrem suum putatiuum et patrem occidet, matrem propriam desponsauit populum prodidit et Christi munera [?] furabatur, unde pro dolore laquea [*sic*] se suspendit et crepuit in medio diffusis viceribus [*sic*]." *Lp.*

Bamberg 107 Q. IV. 36, fol. 257. Probably from *Ll.* *Lu.*

Munich, Lat. 237, fol. 67. Copy of *Pi.* Cf. Catalogue of Halm-Laubmann, I, i, (1868). *Py.*

Munich, Lat. 12262, fol. 206. See below, p. 513. *Mw.*

Engelberg 258, fol. 60. Greatly abbreviated, probably from *Ll.* *Le.*

Maihing II, Lat. 1, fol. 94. Dated 1475. Mentioned by Schepss in Mone's *Anzeiger* XXVII (1880), col. 114. *Ps.*

Leipzig 834, fol. 246. Probably from *Ll.* *Ls.*

Wolfenbüttel 212 (=Helmstadt 185), fol. 215. Mentioned by Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, 1721, p. 1225. (D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda*, Bologna, 1869. Introd. p. 94, n. 1, gives the page as 2125; and this error, probably a misprint, was copied by Creizenach, *Judas Ischariot in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters*, PBB II, 2, p. 193, and by Heinrich, p. 93). Printed in 1906 by Alfred Heinrich as an appendix to his edition of Rothe's *Passion* (*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, 26. Heft). *Pw.*

Wolfenbüttel 3292, fol. 207, 'De ortu et origine Jude proditoris.' Cf. O. von Heinemann, *Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Abth. 2, vol. IV, p. 329. *Lw.*

Wolfenbüttel 1199 (=Helmstadt 1092), fol. 1. See below, p. 514. *Mh.*

Uncertain date. Vienna, Lat. 1180 (Rec. 3167a), fol. 196. Variation of Type R. I have been unable to see this manuscript; for my knowledge of it I am indebted to Professor von Dobschütz. *Rj.*

Manuscript copy lent me by Professor von Dobschütz. Abbreviated redaction of Type R, but contains several variant readings which correspond to none of the known texts. Such variants may be the result of the scribe's efforts to condense; or may point to a text of Type R which has not come down to us. After carefully examining the text I believe the former alternative the more probable. *Re.*[6]

This list does not include, of course, the texts of the Judas legend where it is actually a part of the *Legenda Aurea,* but only complete separate versions; nor is it by any means exhaustive.

These versions may be divided into five groups, as I have indicated by the letters chosen to designate the manuscripts, viz.:

Type A. The earliest known Latin form of the legend, found in only one manuscript, *Ap.*

Type R. A more developed version, found in *Rm, Ra, Rb,* etc.

Type L. The *Legenda Aurea* version, comprising *Lv, Lc, Lj,* etc.

[6] To this list may be added: MS. 2035. BB. xii 12, zr. 1383 of the Library of the University of Cracow, *Varii versus Latini:* str. 166. 'explicit Judas Scarioht, da gracias'; and in the same library MS. 2610 Bbb i 58, zr. 1704, *Adscriptiones minoris momenti,* among which is a 'Historia de origine Judae Iscariot.' In the unpublished *Mare Magnum* of Francesco Marucelli (d. 1703) there is an article 'De Juda Proditore,' which probably contains the legend. Cf. Guido Biagi, *Indice del Mare Magnum,* Roma, 1885, p. 3. In the *Acta SS.,* May 3, preface to 'De Sancto Ursio' (p. 426), the 'historia apocrypha" of Judas is mentioned as appearing in the *Legenda Aurea,* and a brief summary is given, with the note: "Hinc hominum noscitur inclinatio ad similes narratiunculas proclivis."

Type H. An elaborated humanistic version, found in *Hr, Hb, Hd.*

Type P. Poetical versions—*Pi, Py, Pz, Px.*

Type M. Miscellaneous—*Mw, Mh.*

Since Type R and Type L give essentially the same material in different forms, it will be convenient to designate them collectively as Type RL.

Type A. The version *Ap* stands practically alone, and in many respects is the most remarkable of all. I reproduce here Professor Rand's text.

Nihil occultum quod non reveletur et opertum quod non sciatur.[1] Qui a malo progreditur et in malo perseverat, non corona sed meriti pena donatur. De Iuda proditore nobis vita innectitur, qui malus in ortu, peior in vita, pessimus exstitit in fine. Pater eius itaque quantum apud homines cluebat, diviciis affluens et honorabilis omnibus vicinis suis habebatur. Hic nocte quadam visionem vidit se filium habere qui mortem ei intentaret; iam enim uxor eius pregnans erat. De quo praestigium hoc futurum erat. Nato autem infante pater in eo omen tale consideravit et expavit, tibias illius transfixit atque inter frutecta longius ab urbe Iherusalem collocavit. Cuius vagitum et voces ploratus quidam pastorum intelligentes a loco dimoverunt eum et in Scarioth deferentes a quadam muliere alere fecerunt. Qui nutritus et in robur virile deductus regi iunctus est Herodi atque inter servos eius mixtus cum omni probitate regi ceterisque militibus serviebat. Et tamen, ut moris est servorum, que habere poterat prodige distribuebat et quam plurima sibi furtive vendicabat. Accidit autem quodam tempore ut Herodes sollempne convivium cum primoribus apud Ierosolimam haberet et inter multa ferculorum genera nascentia pomorum rex quereret. Cuius voluntatem Iudas festinavit implere et ad virgultum sui patris descendens, quem tamen suum patrem ignorabat, vi evellebat et eradicabat arborum fructus. Vir vero cuius haec erant animo motus et amaritudine plenus erexit se adversus hominem perversum, sed Iudas invalescens illum percussit et occidit. Commovetur adversus eum tota civitas et insurgentes in eum morti tradere disposuerunt. Iudas

[1] Cf. "Nihil enim est opertum, quod non revelabitur: et occultum quod non scietur" (Matt. 10, 26). The same idea occurs also in Mark and Luke.

autem ad presidium Herodis fugiens mortis periculum evasit. Herodes et ipse turbatus egit quemadmodum ille ab amicis interfecti pacem obtineret, ne re unius mali in aliud maius periculum declinaret. Accepto igitur consilio Herodes uxorem interfecti Iude copulavit, ipso et omnibus ignorantibus quod mater eiusdem esset. Die vero quadam accidit ut Iudas coram matre et uxore nudus appareret et videns illa stigmata plagarum in tibiis, suspicata est filium suum esse, quem olim inter frutecta proiectum dimiserat. Unde querit ab eo, quis pater eius exstiterat, vel que mater eius, qui parentes, et unde vel ex qua provintia ortus vel a quibus fuerit nutritus. Ille se nescire profitetur sed hoc tantum a sua nutrice audisse quia inter frutecta illo in loco iactus fuisset et a pastoribus reppertus in Scarioth delatus ibique nutritus sit. Et cum ad robur virile pervenisset Herodis se inter servientes se miscuisse et suo servicio multis placuisse. His auditis illa corruit et proclamans se miseram dicebat, "Infelix mei visio mariti que a filio completa est et insuper in me malignitatis et peccati redundat insania. Dies meae pereat nativitatis et caligo tenebrarum irruat in eum." Iudas autem tantam a se factam intelligens nequiciam doluit et pro tanto scelere penitens a matre recessit. At tunc temporis Iesus illis habitabat in locis, qui predicando et subveniendo multis corpora sanabat et mentes a diversis peccatis revocabat; gravatos peccatis ad se venientes suscipiebat et more pastoris oves ore lupino raptas ab eorum incursu abstraebat. Cuius virtutem atque pietatem Iudas agnoscens ad eum se contulit et ut sui misereretur rogavit. Assensit Iesus voluntati ipsius, secum quoque ac inter suos discipulos eum esse passus est. Cui etiam que habebat committebat ut sibi ceterisque provideret necessaria. Ille vero sacculos habebat et que poterat furabatur. Et cuius intentionis ipse Iudas esset, in fine apparuit, quia magistrum precio vendidit et Iudeis tradidit. Qui tandem se ipsum suspendit et miserabili morte vitam finivit. Tu autem Domine miserere nostri. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem in bonum, hic salvus erit.

This is, as Professor Rand remarks, "certainly the finest of all the versions, with a pathos direct and touching, not far removed from tragedy." It is no mere scandal-monger's tale, and no ignorant, ultra-pious effort to make the figure of Judas as repulsive as possible. The author shows a quiet dignity, a sort of Christ-like forgiveness of the wretch who was "malus in ortu, peior in vita, pessimus in fine." His Latin is simple, naïf, but expressive; his arrangement of the incidents, his subordination of the

merely narrative element, and his emphasis, in the manner of the best sermons, on the reflective and philosophical, bespeak a refinement entirely lacking in the writer of the *Legenda Aurea* version. "The Judas of this little story awakens our compassion and the recognition of our common frailty."

The simplicity of this narrative is an indication of its early date. The lack of names for the parents of Judas, and the absence of the incident of the foster-brother and the concomitant fratricide, point to a somewhat undeveloped stage of the story as compared with the later versions. It is not only the earliest Latin form of the legend, but appears to be also not far removed from the earliest of all versions.

Type R. Type R is represented by eleven manuscripts. None of these is demonstrably earlier than the thirteenth century; hence it is impossible to say at once whether this redaction in its original form antedates the original form of Type L or not.[8] Professor Rand argues for an early date for *Rm;* and describes it as "written in a beautiful clear script of the very end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century." This manuscript had already been mentioned by Schepss;[9] *Ra,* of the thirteenth century, is a discovery of Professor Rand's; the remaining nine manuscripts (*Rb, Rg, Rq, Rn, Ro, Rc, Rl, Rj, Re*) have, I believe, never been considered in any discussion of the Judas legend. *Rm, Ro, Ra, Rb, Rn, Rq, Rl,* offer practically the same text. By comparing all the variants I have endeavored to reconstruct the archetype of Type R, as follows:

[8] Professor Rand inclines to the opinion that Type L and Type R have a common earlier parent, and are not derived one from the other. This is quite possible.

[9] Mone's *Anzeiger,* XXVII (1880), col. 114. Schepss calls it s. xiii-xiv.

Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Pilato preside uir in Iudea Ruben nomine ex tribu Ruben qui noctis in tempestate legalibus uxoris sue Ciboree alligabatur amplexibus.[10] Ciborea uero dum membra sompni foueret quiete sompnium uidit, quo expergefacta pectore sollicito retrahens suspiria uelut presagiis futurorum malorum pleno flebiliter ingemuit. Cui Ruben uehementer inquit et ultra quam eloqui fas est: admiror que tanta causa tristicie sic tua uiscera moueri compulerit. Ciborea intulit: cum carnali copula ligati legi deseruiremus maritali prolem certo tempore pariendam que totius magno constabit Iudaici populi gentibus concepisse per sompnium uidi; aut enim spiritus et utinam falsus subrepens intimauit, aut mens per eam gentem nostram ut solet in multo tempore presagia futurorum malorum dispergenda mihi declarauit. Ruben pre maximo admiracionis terrore correptus; nephariam, inquit, rem nec relatu dignam profaris, spiritu ceu puto phitonico raperis. Ciborea uero iuramento confirmans sic per futurum fore ait. Mensium igitur curricula diem partus cum periculo uite instantis, abhinc diligenter considera. Hic enim infantulus de quo confirmantur scelera, ne gens nostra alligetur dicioni peregrinationis, si dies uite ex integro ad tempus natalis sui perduxero morte morietur. Tempora fluxerunt, orbe nouo cornua lunaria refulserunt. Instante itaque die partui deputato generatur filius. Ruben uero multimodis et inexplicabilibus inuoluitur curis. Nepharium enim ducit filium occidi, scelerosum totius gentis destructorem enutriri. Tandem seponitur pietas, preponderat impietas. Cistella uimine contexitur, in qua maris fluctibus iniectus ad insulam Scarioth propellitur: a qua Iudas Scariothis cognominatur. Tunc regina huius comitata pedissequis fortuitu ad litus maris processit spatiari uiditque infantulum procellosis maris fluctibus fluctuari. Pedisseque autem accurrunt et uultum pueri diligenter intuentes regieque pulchritudini conparantes domine deferunt et de longinquis partibus in illas perfluxisse asserunt. Regina itaque liniamenta corporis pueri preconsiderans et diligentius oculorum intuitu prenotans ait: o si solatiis tante sobolis subleuarer, ne regni mei successore priuarer. Pedisseque infantulum nutriri suggerunt ut uidua sterili permanente habeatur heres. Regina obsequitur hancque regiam peperisse prolem terram promulgatur in omnem. Plebs letatur, primates congratulantur. Denique breui post tempore impletur regine uterus, certisque diebus generatur eis filius legitimus. Colludentibus hiis itaque in annis infancie Iudas puerum regium ad fletum non pertimescit prouocare. Regina autem sciens eum ad se

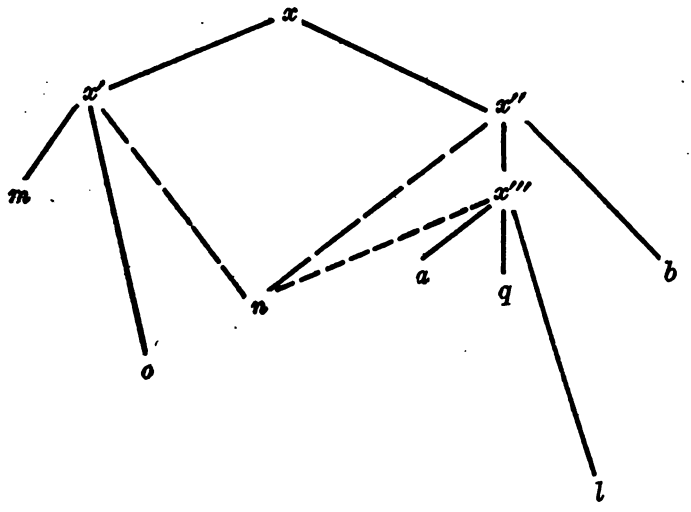
[10] Cf. "Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de vice Abia, et uxor illius de filiabus Aaron, et nomen eius Elisabeth." Luc., I, 5-6.

non pertinere tantum in suum dedignatur audire. Tandem res panditur, Iudas puer inuenticius esse conperitur. Hic ergo erubescit et puerum fratrem suum creditum latenter occidit. Ob hoc ergo timens capitalem sententiam cum tributariis Ierusalem usque aufugit, seque curie Pilati tunc presidi applicuit. Deinde uero quoniam res similes sibi sunt habiles, quia nequam et moribus suis congruere inuenitur, universis rebus Pilati preficitur. Nulla sine suo iussu, nutu, consensuque fiunt, quoniam in dicione sua omnia porrecta sunt. Stans autem die quadam Pilatus ad palacium introspexit quoddam pomerium, uiditque fructus quorum tanto captus est desiderio ut pene exhalaret spiritum. Accersito itaque Iuda ait: si esu horum fructuum frustratus fuero me ut cuncta natura sinu terre remittens receptabit placido, *quoniam capit omnia tellus que genuit &c.*[11] Iudas igitur pomerio insiliit, mala carpit, Ruben superuenit, contendunt, iurgia superaddunt. Ruben tandem lapide quo ceruix collo connectitur a Iuda percussus occidit. Iam die se inclinante nocteque instante Ruben mortuus reperitur; subitanea morte preuentus creditur esse. Tunc Pilatus Iude recolligens merita omnem Ruben substantiam et uxorem ei contradidit in beneficia. Ciborea ut dolores tot et tantos recolligit ingemuit, Iude causam suspirii querenti ait: infantulum marinis fluctibus inmersi, uirum meum morte preuentum inueni, nunc autem, quo super omnia moueor, quia uiro contra uoluntatem meam socior. Iudas autem hec omnia sibi euenisse probauit, filiumque suum esse, matrem quoque in uxorem duxisse coniecit. Penitentia ergo ductus Ciborea suadente saluatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem fit remissio peccatorum, ut suorum ueniam mereretur delictorum, fit discipulus. Habebat autem tunc semper loculos ubi sibi reseruabat furtiua pauperibus in elemosinas distribuenda. Hic autem a domino diligebatur pre ceteris donec consilium iniit cum Iudeis et eum triginta uendidit argenteis. Videns autem quia innocentem condampnauerat proiecto in templo sanguinis precio laqueo se suspendit et medius crepuit.

After comparing all the variant readings I have prepared the following stemma for the seven manuscripts of this version:[12]

[11] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 7, 818-19. "Cælo . . . urnam" was quoted by Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* I, 12 (M. S. L. 41, 27). Cf. Isidorus XVI, 26, 4.

[12] The existence of x' and x'' and the positions of m and o may be held quite certain. Of x''' one cannot be so positive. The positions of a, q, l may be considered as fairly established (if x''' be removed they



From a consideration of the interrelationship of the manuscripts two points of interest result. First: x'' and x''' show a large number of glosses, whence it seems right to infer that in the early days of these two texts the little story of Judas was deemed worthy of what we should now term an 'edition'; certain versions of the legend were treated to a sort of textual criticism as the Middle Ages understood it. Moreover, *b* was a special recension; and *n*, as is shown both by the unusually large number of glosses, and by its apparent collation of x' and x'' (and perhaps x'''), as well as by its completion of the Lucan quotation, would seem to represent an effort to provide

descend directly from x''); *b* is probably in its right place; and there appears to be sufficient ground for the position of *n*.—Inasmuch as it would occupy too much space to print all the variants and the arguments from which I have deduced the stemma, I must ask the reader to accept my conclusions on faith. On this point, however, and on any other for which the evidence may seem insufficient, all the material may be found in my dissertation in the Harvard University Library.

a 'complete critical text based on all the known manuscripts.'

The second interesting result is to push further back the date of the archetype of Type R. That is, *m*, our earliest manuscript of Type R, is not only not the original, it is a copy of a copy. Inasmuch as *m* was undoubtedly written sometime ca. 1200, the evidence of at least two earlier texts of this version warrants our placing the original manuscript of the Type definitely in the twelfth century, and with some show of probability not the very end of the century. This evidence enables us to say also, with tolerable certainty, that Type R antedates the Type adopted by Jacopo da Voragine, since we have no ground for dating the latter earlier than sometime after the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Type L. The manuscripts of Type L may be roughly divided into early and late texts. As has been said, *Ll* had generally been considered the earliest, and the prototype. Professor Rand, however, discovered in *Lv* "an immediate precursor of the account in the *Golden Legend*," the source which Jacopo da Voragine incorporated in his work almost without change. This manuscript is in the Vatican, Palatinus 619, dated s. xii-xiii in the catalogue of Stevenson-de Rossi. The writing of the Judas legend is "clearly before the date of Jacopo (1230-1298)." [13] The chief differences between *Lv* and *Ll*, besides unimportant variations in word order and spelling (*ergo* generally in *Lv* for *igitur* in *Ll*, and similar details of scribal origin) are that *Lv* represents Judas as from the tribe of Judah, whereas *Ll* has "de tribu Dan," that Jacopo "cautiously adds" *licet apocrypha* after "quadam historia" at the beginning, and at the end of the legend proper comments:

[13] Rand, p. 305.

"hucusque in prædicta historia apocrypha legitur, quæ utrum recitanda sit lectoris arbitrio relinquatur, licet sit potius relinquenda quam asserenda." This bit of naïf scepticism has been universally attributed to Jacopo da Voragine, who was, in fact, by no means so gullible and credulous as many have asserted. Nevertheless, while *licet apocrypha* is with him a not unusual safeguarding formula, and while he must have brought to bear a good deal of critical discrimination in preparing such a compendious legendary from such infinitely scattered and multifarious materials as he had to work with, still he was not given, I think, to expressing his doubt in this manner.

The originality of this scepticism on the part of Jacopo is laid open to doubt by *Lc.* This manuscript, originally of Bury St. Edmunds, is now at Cambridge, St. John's College 214; it is described by James [14] as "Cent. xii late, very finely [i. e., beautifully] written"; it contains the *Etymologiæ* of Isidorus, some curious maps, and (unfinished) capitula of the *Sententiæ* of Isidorus; and last, "in another hand (xiii)," *De ortu poncii pilati* and *De ortu Jude scarioht.* The script of these lives of Pilate and Judas is certainly not of the twelfth century, but it seems to me to be not very much later. Dr. James is unwilling to agree to call the writing "very early cent. xiii," and estimates the lapse of about a generation between the writing of these lives of Pilate and Judas and that of the remainder of the manuscript.[15] Now the dating of any manuscript from the writing alone is fraught with many

[14] *Descriptive Catalogue,* etc., p. 243.

[15] In a private communication. It is proper to add, however, that Dr. James has again examined this portion of the MS. and pronounced his "deliberate opinion" that the life of Judas here "may quite possibly be after 1260; and not impossibly but less likely after 1280."

uncertainties; and it is, I confess, quite impossible to demonstrate absolutely that this Cambridge version antedates the *Legenda Aurea*. Nevertheless, the script of this *De ortu Jude scarioht* seems to me to belong to the first half of the thirteenth century, and certainly is earlier than the composition of the *Legenda Aurea;* and so, along with *Lv, Lc* represents the source of Jacopo. But *Lc* (like *Lg* and *Ld*) reads: "legitur enim in quadam historia licet apocrypha"; and (like *Lg*) contains the *hucusque* passage with which Jacopo apologizes for admitting the legend into his collection: "hucusque in apocripha historia sic legitur: utrum recitanda sit . . ." etc., exactly as in *Ll.*[16]

[16] The whole question of Jacopo's treatment of his sources remains still to be investigated. The above generalization is, I believe, sound. When he can, Jacopo evidently cites a well known name to vouch for the *life* or legend—Hieronymus, Anastasius, Augustinus, Gregorius—often expressing uncertainty as to the attribution. It is, furthermore, perhaps significant that in introducing the life of Pilate (Cap. LIII) he writes: "de poena autem et origine Pylati in quadam historia licet apocrypha"; which is also his introduction to the legend of Judas. And later: "Hucusque in praedicta historia apocrypha leguntur. Quae utrum recitanda sint, lectoris judicio relinquatur. Nota tamen, quod in hystoria scholastica legitur. . . . Potuit esse, si tamen illa hystoria continet veritatem, quia. . . . Eusebius autem et Beda in suis chronicis non dicunt. . . ." Here he not only repeats essentially his apology for the Judas legend, but magnifies the uncertainty by means of additional conflicting sources. It must be noted, moreover, that those two passages are the only examples of his elaborately warning the too credulous reader. On other occasions, save for the qualifying phrases indicated above, tales quite as indigestible as those of Pilate and Judas are served warm to the reader with no hesitation. One cannot help imagining that these two legends Jacopo took from some collection or other which he had special grounds for suspecting. Other *lives* equally marvellous he had from more respectable sources, and consequently he took them to a certain extent on holy faith; against an unqualified belief in the *lives* of these two *maledicti*, Judas and Pilate, he felt in conscience bound to warn the gentle reader.

Another early manuscript of this group is *Lj*, dated the "second half of the thirteenth century." The scribe omitted the *licet apocrypha* at the beginning and the *hucusque* passage at the end of the legendary material, but preserved carefully the moralizing on Judas's death. Possibly, in the mind of this scribe at least, the story had received complete credence. Curiously, in *Lj* the 'spiritus phitonicus' became 'spiritus propheticus,' probably because the scribe was unfamiliar with the somewhat unusual word.[17]

The text of Type L is readily accessible in Graesse's edition of the *Legenda Aurea*, and therefore I need not

But, on the other hand, if, as appears extremely probable, the *hucusque* passage is found in a text which antedates the composition or compilation of the *Legenda Aurea*, then this apologetic warning is not Jacopo's own, but is transferred bodily from his source. And since almost the same words follow the legend of Pilate as that of Judas it would seem that the two legends kept company before the last quarter of the thirteenth century, precisely as we find them together throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages—and indeed as we find them in the early thirteenth-century MS. at St. John's College, Cambridge. If, however, the second statement of Dr. James is correct (see p. 497, n. 15) this hypothesis falls to the ground. But it is by no means demonstrable, nor even likely, that the *Legenda Aurea* was compiled as early of 1260; and even if Jacopo had made some preliminary collections by that date, it is not natural to suppose they would include Judas and Pilate. Moreover, while it is both possible and probable that the *Legenda Aurea* was finished by 1280, it is on the other hand possible but *not* probable that a copy of it would have reached England immediately after its completion, and that a scribe of Bury St. Edmunds would have made an extract of only the lives of Judas and Pilate. The earliest MSS. of the *Legenda Aurea* now in England date from the very end of the thirteenth century. It appears to me far more probable *prima facie* that this version of the life of Judas (and that of Pilate) was known rather earlier than 1260 or 1280, and that the monk of Bury St. Edmunds had a copy of it and Jacopo da Voragine had another copy.

[17] On this word cf. Rein. Köhler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.* XI (1870), p. 317, n. 3 (= *Klein. Schriften*, II, p. 196, n. 1).

reprint it here. After collating Graesse's text with the early manuscripts of the Judas legend where it is not a portion of the *Legenda Aurea,* I find it impossible to infer anything certain with regard to the relationship of the various texts. *Lc* and *Lv* are doubtless the earliest; and it is probably safer to say that both are copies of an earlier text, now unknown, than that they are copies one of the other. *Ll* probably derives from an early text of *Lc,* or from the assumed parent of *Lc* and *Lv,* or from a sister text to *Lc* and *Lv;* but the presence of the *hucusque* passage in *Ll* and in *one* of its known forerunners would render it reasonably safe to infer that *Ll* is more closely related to the antecedent text which contains that test sentence (i. e., to *Lc*) than to the one which does not contain it. Still the evidence is far from conclusive, and in many important variants *Lv* is closer to *Ll* and *Lc* than any of the other early texts. As to the other manuscripts of this group which are roughly contemporary with *Ll* or only a little posterior, I incline to think that *Lj, Lh, Ld,* and *Lk* are more or less free copies of *Ll* (*Lj* being especially free), and that *Lg* and *Lf* derive rather from *Lv* than from *Ll.*

In view of the enormous and apparently immediate popularity of the *Legenda Aurea,* most of the manuscripts of the Judas legend which resemble the version adopted by Jacopo and which postdate his work are *a priori* likely to be copies from the great legendary; but this *a priori* probability should not blind us to the fact that a separate version of the story, Type R, giving essentially the same matter in different language, not only existed by the side of the *Legenda Aurea* version, but actually, as it seems from the number of manuscripts in which it is found, rivalled it in frequency of repetition. And it must be remembered in such an estimate of popularity that one manuscript of the

Type R version greatly more than outweighs one manuscript of the Type L version, simply because the latter had the added advantage of the popularity of the whole *Legenda Aurea* behind it, whereas the Type R version had to go on its own merits. That the legend should exist in these two so similar forms in such a large number of manuscripts is important evidence of the hold it took on the mediæval mind.

Type H. Type H is the longest and most elaborate version of the Judas legend. It is represented by three manuscripts two of which (*Hr* and *Hb*) are of the thirteenth century, and one (*Hd*) of the fourteenth. All three were written in the north-east of France. *Hr* was published *in extenso* by Professor Rand, who knew only the one manuscript.[18] Since the manuscript (*Hr*), says Professor Rand, "contains, besides *exempla moralia*, Æsopic fables and Sibylline prophecies, a very extensive collection of the poems of Hildebert, Marbod, and Bernard Sylvester, we may possibly look for the source of this paganized story in the circle of these humanists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries." [19]

I give the version here entire, because by collating *Hb* with *Hr* (as printed by Professor Rand) it has been possible to improve the readings of a few difficult passages. I am unable at present to give the variants of *Hd* except for the first two paragraphs; the general character of the text will appear, however, from this partial collation.

> Pater Iude Scarioht de tribu Dan duxit uxorem generis sui secundum legis preceptum. Qui ingressus ad eam impregnavit eam. Ipsa autem nocte vidit mulier presagium malorum in sompno, videlicet presagium malorum suorum. Videbat ignem

1 Jude symonis scariothis talis ortus, talis uite prouectus, talis fuit exitus. Pater eius de tribu dan. . . *b*.—2 legis *om. b*.—3 pre-

[18] Rand, pp. 308-12. [19] Rand, p. 315.

de utero suo egredientem qui paulatim crescens primo maritum suum corripuit eumque penitus consumens donec in favillam deficeret post paululum domum eius in qua iacebat conflagrabat. Qua consumpta prodigiosum monstrum in eosdem ortus hoc est in utero suo, mater agnovit. Ignis vero non totum se recondebat sed interiecto longi temporis spacio inde iterum quasi moderacius se subducebat et subito in altum excrescens primo Iudeam et Galileam deinde omnem circa regionem afflabat et penitus concremabat; ad ultimum urbem regiam David Iherusalem et arcem Syon una cum sancto et venerabili templo corripiebat et omnia in cinerem et favillam redigens concremabat. Ita mulier in medio visu subito exterrita evigilavit et ingenti clamore et gemitu horrorem visionis sue testata maritum excitavit; querenti quid esset, quid haberet, quid clamaret, quid fleret, visa sua exposuit. Ille prodigioso sompno attonitus diluculo surrexit et cum uxore in Iherusalem abiit (erat enim in vico Scarioth qui est ante Iherusalem ad aquilonarem urbis plagam unus de sacerdotibus Domini magni vir meriti) venitque ad eum cum uxore sua seorsumque abducens prodigialem illius visionem ei indicavit. Qua ille audita visione permotus ingemuit diuque stupens et quasi mutus tandem in hanc prophecie vocem ora resolvit.

"Ha! mulier misera, filius quem concepisti magni doloris causa erit tibi, patri autem prius, deinde omni Iudeorum genti et regioni et sancte urbi et templo sempiternus interitus. Sed placate Deum precibus penitentia votis et muneribus ut avertat Dominus iram sue indignationis a vobis."

Hec dixit et tristes ac metu magno consternatos eos dimisit.

---

sagium . . . suorum] sompnium presag. mal. suorum *b*; sompno presag. mal. suorum *d*.—6 consumens] consumpsit *d*.—7 domum] domum quoque *b*.—8 prodigiosum] prodigioso *b*.—9 mater . . . vero] *om. b*. Non] nec tamen *b*. Se recondebat] terrendum dabat *r*. Se] sese *b*.—10 sed] nec *b*. Inde iterum *om d*.—13 urbem regiam] reg. urb. *b*. David Iher. *om. b*. Arcem] archem *b*.—15 redigens concremabat] concremans redigebat *b*, *d*.—17 maritum] maritum suum *b*.—18 quid haberet] quod hab. *r*. Quid fleret *om. d*.—20 in *om. d*.—21 Scarioth] Scarioht *r*. Urbis] urbem *d*.—22 unus] unum *b*. vir] *Rand;* uiri *r;* uirum *b*. Venitque] conuenit *b*. Ad eum cum] cumque *b*.—23 -que *om. b*. Abducens *om. d*.—24 visione *om. b*.—25 mutus] mutus herens *b*.—27 Ha] ahc *b*. Mulier misera] misera misera mulier *b*. Filius] filium *r*.—28 autem] autem suo *b*. Prius] post *d*.—30 penitentia] penitencia *r et sic frequenter*. Votis *om. d*.—31 Dom. . . . a vobis] a vobis deus ir. s. indig. *b*; a vobis ir. indig. s. *d*.—

Evoluto autem tempore quo conceperat mulier peperit puerum satis quidem scitum sed in suam et multorum perniciém natum. Vnde anxii pro visione et sui vatis divinatione decreverunt eum statim necare et parricidas se sui sanguinis esse. Sed non est possibilitatis humane convertere consilium ordinationis divine. Ille de quo postea passivus pro salute mundi dixit Filius Dei, "Melius illi erat si natus non fuisset homo ille," cum natus statim debuit occidi, reservatus est in perdicionem sui, in traditionem Domini Ihesu Christi, in nutrimentum ignis eterni, in memoriam patrum suorum, et in recordacionem peccati misere matris sue. Pugnaverunt diu affectus pietatis et timor patrie; et voluit diu pater pius esse. Noluit ipse prius nocens esse interficiendo eum quem nondum noverat aliquid quod morte puniri deberet commisisse. Porro autem pie sollicitabatur pro salute patrie mallens unum innocentem adhuc et filium suum suis maioribus interire quam per illum succedenti tempore tocius patrie ruinam videre. Vicit tandem amor patrie utrosque parentes clausumque in cistella lignea puerum superata pietate proiecerunt in mare. Inhorruisse ferunt pelagus mox ut sensit prodigiale onus, totiusque fluctibus frementes torsisse vertices et futurum sui conditoris venditorem tortis impulisse fluctibus ut et futurum latronem dissecaret et collideret suis molibus et occultaret profundis gurgitibus priusquam venditor audax horrendum seclis omnibus perpetraret facinus. Miser Iuda et infelicissime, quo tuo vel tuorum parentum crimine contigit tibi tot tantisque malis natum esse? Cur misera illa mater tua cum te concepit non statim abortivit? Cur autem natus? Cur exceptus genibus? Cur lactatus uberibus? Cur natus non statim es paternis et maternis manibus necatus? Esset certe modo tibi melius; parricidale autem crimen fuisset

32 hec *om. b.* Hec dixit *om. d.*—33 quo] quod *b.*—34 quidem *om. b.*—35 pro visione] p(ro) visionem *r;* propter visionem *Rand.* Divinatione] divinationem *r.*—36 parricidas] p(er)ricidas *r;* parricide *b.*—38 passivus *om. b.*—40 statim debuit] deb. stat. *b.* Est *om. b.*—41 Ihesu *om. b.* In (*ante* nutrim.) *om. r, b.*—42 peccati] precati *r;* pcti *b.*—43 pietatis] pietasque *b.* Timor] timor (?) *r;* amor *Rand.*—44 et voluit] noluit *r.*—45 nondum] nudu *b.*—47 mallens] malu *b.*—48 succedenti] accedenti *b.*—49 tocius] pocius *r.*—50 parentes] paventes *r.*—52 onus] honus *r.* -que *om. r.*—54 ut et] *Rand;* et ut *r;* et *om. b.* Futurum] auarum *b.*—55 molibus] motibus *b.*—57 tuorum parentum] par. tuorum *b.* Crimine contigit] contigitur crimine *b.*—58 Tibi *om. b.*—59 concepit] cepit *r.*—60 cur . . . necatus *om. r.*—62 modo tibi] tibi modo *b.* Parricidale autem] parricida/

tuis miseris parentibus tuo crimine venialius. Cur autem vel in mare proiectus non statim es mersus et a tanto abysso suffocatus? Esset tibi vel mare vel aliquis beluinus venter sepulchrum nec postea celo terreque perosus tam infelici morte perisses inter utrumque. Sed cum mori poteras adhuc sine crimine, pepercit tibi inter fluctus nescio quis deus, quamvis ether, venti et pelagus ut perires totis pugnabat viribus. Incertum est, inquam, quis deus hoc discrimine te eripuit; et elementa dum te laborant obruere, visa sunt pocius obsequium tibi prestitisse. Actus enim tot fluctibus fertur unius diei et noctis spacio, ab Ioppe civitate Galilee transvectus per tot maria usque ad horam Illirici maris usque Bitradum et ad introitum pervenit, ad hanc famosam alitricem Iude traditoris. Vbi mane piscator quidam egressus sagenam suam in mare misit, quam vacuam quidem piscibus sed oneratam cistella Iude ad littus adduxit. Quam acceptam mox ad uxorem suam attulit dicensque magnum thesaurum invenisse qui inopiam sublevaret gratulabundus ostendit. Sed effracta cistella et detecta spes expectati thesauri nulla fuit. Nihil enim in cistella aliud invenerunt nisi puerum vaginentem et membranam parvulam hec verba continentem: Hic infantulus est Iudas de vico Scarioth qui est ante Iherusalem.

Mulier, mota visceribus humanitatis, "Maiorem," inquit ad maritum, "expectato nostro dii nobis dederunt thesaurum, hunc tam elegantis forme puerum, quem quia non habemus proprium hunc adoptivum habebimus in filium." Hec dixit, et marito facile in id ipsum consenciente puerum de cistella exposuit, et nesciens quam magnum malum aleret in perdicionem sui et multorum eum nutrivit. Qui postquam adolevit Grecorum

---

rit autem *r;* parricidari; tantum *Rand.*—63 venialius] venalius *r.* —64 tanto] tanta *b.*—65 aliquis] aquis *b.*—69 et pelagus] pelagusque *b.*—71 tibi *om. r.*—73 ab Ioppe civitate] ad Ioppem civitatem *b.* Galilee] galylee *b.*—74 usque Bitradum et ad introitum pervenit] qua byt°cum civitatem cepit aluit *b.*—75 ad hanc] *Rand;* adhuc *r, b.*—mane] mare *r.*—76 egressus] ingressus *r.*—77 oneratam] honeratam *r.* Cistella] cistellam *r.*—78 dicensque] quod *b.*—79 thesaurum] tessaurum *r.* Invenisse] invenisset *b.* Inopiam] eos inopia *r.*—80 cistella et detecta] et det. cis. *b.* Expectati] expectata *b.*—81 Nihil] nichil *b.*—82 verba *om. r.*—83 Scarioth] scarioht *r.*—85 ad mar. exp. nos.] exp. nos. ad mar. *b.*—86 dii] di(i)s? *r.* thesaurum] tesaurum *r.*—87 tam *om. r.* Quem] qui *b.*—88 Adoptivum] adotivum *r.* In filium] proprium *r.* Hec *om. b.* Et *om. r.*—90 magnum *om. b.*—91 Grecorum *om. b.*—92 erat *om. b.*—94

disciplinis et studiis se exercitando cito perfecit. Erat acer corpore et ingenio animi. Factum est autem ut consuetudinaria institutione decreto principum Bithordi quinquennalis agon in honore Iovis Olimpiadi celebraretur, ubi cum urbibus, vicis, castellis, oppidis agrisque studium ostendende virtutis et cupido laudis et spes palme multos alliceret. Iudasque affuit inter alios et super ceteros agonistas clarissimus victor emicuit. Quod aliqui invidentes et indigne ferentes cum captivus et advena indigenis et nobilibus civibus se comparare auderet, cum gravi opprobrio ei obiciunt eumque de agonali ludo non sine iniuria expellunt. Ille gravi ira permotus ad matrem, quem adhuc credebat suam, furibundus venit, exertoque in eam nimis ferociter gladio, quis ipse aut unde aut cuius filius esset aut quomodo illuc venisset aut cur tanto tempore matrem eius se mentita fuisset, eam fateri coegit. Illa unde aut quando illus venisset aut quomodo a marito suo piscatore inventus, quomodo ab illa nutritus quod adoptivus filius esset ei indicavit. Ceterum quis aut cuius filius esset, quomodo etiam illuc venisset se nescire respondit, simul et cartulam cum illo in cistella inventam ei protulit. "Et si tantus amor est," ait, "tibi te ipsum cognoscendi, scis patriam nomenque tuum.[20] Inquire gentem et genus tuum et quomodo veneris huc." Ille his auditis attonitus iram tunc quidem compressit, tempus vero opportunum nactus Bitrodum quasi Andropolim iturus reliquit. Inde navim conscendens in Syriam proficiscentem paucis post diebus in Ioppen portu expositus ad urbem Iherusalem pervenit. Erat eo tempore in Iherusalem Poncius Pylatus procurator rerum publicarum a Romanis in Iudeam missus. Ei

---

Bithordi] bithor *r;* bithroci *b*.—95 Olimpiadi] Olipiadi *r;* Olipiadis *Rand.* ubi cum] et ubique de *Rand.*—96 castel.] et castel. *b*. Ostendende] ostend(er)e *r*.—97 -que] quoque *b*. Affuit inter alios] inter alios affuit *b*.—98 et] et inter et *b*.—99 cum] *Rand;* cui(?) *r;* cur *b*.—101 opprobrio ei obviciunt] probro ei obiciunt *b;* opp. e'iciu(n)t ei *r;* opp. conviciantur ei *Rand.*—103 Exertoque] exc(ri?) toque *r;* exsertoque *Rand.*—105 Cur] cui(?) *r*. Tanto *om. b*.—106 Mentita] mentitam *r*.—108 Quod] q(ui) *r;* quod *Rand.*—113 et genus] genusque *b*.—114 his] hiis *r*. Quidem compressit] comp. quidem *b*.—115 Bitrodum] bithrotum *b*.—116 conscendens . . . proficiscentem] syriam proficiscens conscende(re)n *b*. In] *Rand;* eu(m) *r; om. b*—118 eo tempore in Iher.] Iher. eo tempore *b*.—119 Iudeam] Iudea *r*.—

[20] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 10, "Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros," *etc.*, and note also the dactylic rhythm at the end of the sentence. Rand, p. 310, n. 10.

Iudas officiosissime deserviendo adhesit, nihil de gente et cognatione sua fortunisque suis cuiquam locutus pro officio suo brevi tam presidi quam clientibus eius fuit carus. Accidit autem quadam die ut Pylatus deambularet per solarium domus in qua manebat. Aspiciens vicum Scarioth vidit in orto unius pauperis dactilos in palma pendere et desideravit ex eis comedere. Vocansque unum ex astantibus misit et de fructu sibi afferre iussit. Ille abiit, sed prohibente domino pomerii carpere suos fructus, inanis ad presidem rediit. Ille ita commotus, "Et quis," ait, "adhuc ibit pro nobis?" "Ego," Iudas et abiit. Erat autem ortus ille Symonis qui erat pater Iude. Irruens Iudas cum furore palmam excussit, deinde quos excusserat fructus collegit. Et conversus contumax turbatis oculis in patrem suum (nesciebat autem quod pater suus esset), "Cur non" inquit, "o decrepite senex et me repellis? Cur non et mihi contradictis?" "Et rogasse quam rapuisse equius fuerat," senex respondit, "et depone quod meum est. Depone, inquam, quod meum est," ingeminavit et quod collegerat de palla illi excussit. Iudas ut leo frendens nil id tale promeritum senem patrem suum fuste percussit diminutoque eius cerebro morientem et suam ulcionem deo clamantem dimisit et recollectos fructus paterno sanguine respersus presidi attulit. Audita morte innocentis fit de tota urbe concursus, oritur gravis sedicio et furentis populi confusa vociferacio illis clamantibus, "Homicida exhibeatur," aliis autem succinentibus eciam, "Et preses cum sua domo ignibus subiciatur." Preses cogitans esse optimum ad evitandam tali tempore seditionem, viros sapientes et discretos mittit ad populum, quam sedicionem temere inceptam illis mediantibus facilé compescuit. Accitaque muliere cuius erat maritus occisus, consilio seniorum et per-

---

124 aspiciens] aspiciensque *b*. Scarioth] scarioht. *r*.—126 fructu] fructu illo *b*.—127 ille] ille servus *r*. Carpere] capere *r*.—129 adhuc] adhuc semel *b*. Pro *om*. *b*. Iudas] Iudas ait *b*.—130 irruens] irruensque *b*.—131 quos] quod *r*.—132 contumax] minax *b*. Turbatis oculis *om*. *b*.—133 quod] qui (?) *r*; quia *Rand*. Cur] cui(?) *r*. Cur non . . . repellis] cur . . . non repellis *r*.—134 o *om*. *b*. —136 fuerat] fuit *b*.—138 palla] pallio *b*.—140 suam] in suam *b*. Deo] deum *b*.—141 sanguine] sanguitie (?) *r*. Respersus] respersit *b*.—144 exhibiatur] exibiatur *r*. Autem *om*. *b*.—145 sua] suis *b*. —145-148 Preces . . . compescuit] proces ratuus optimum in tali tempore sedicionem conponendam esse sapientes et discretos uiros ad populum mittit; habitaque per eos contione ad turbam temere ceptam seditionem facile compescuit *b*.—148 Accitaque] acceptaque *b*.—149

suasu amicorum suorum factum est ut Iudas eam in uxorem duceret rediretque per hoc in eius gratiam cuius maritum nullis premissis inimiciciis sed ira precipitante occiderat. Ne quod ergo nephas intactum, ne quod scelus illi esset inausum, fit impius parricida matris maritus; et ut omnino veritas attestaretur sompnio, in suos ortus monstrum revolvitur. Sed nichil tam occultum quod non reveletur neque absconditum quod non sciatur.[n] Parum temporis fluxerat et una nocte mulier illa misera inter amplexus mariti sed filii recordata eius quam aliquando viderat visionis suspirare graviter cepit et modo ad memoriam revocando filium parvulum in mare mersus modo autem maritum ab eo quem habebat interfectum cepit abhorrere tales nupcias. Cepit detestari sua tempora in que nimirum infeliciter vivendo pervenerat. Iudas tacito auscultans uxorem et eandem suam matrem cepit diligenter ab ea scrutari et querere textum huius tragedie. At vero postquam omnia audivit seque et ex visione matris et ex litteris secum in cistella inventis recognovit detestatus patris parricidium, obscenum matris adulterium, "Et que crudelis fortuna me miserum persequitur?" dixit, "Et quis erit modus mei sceleris? Si parricida patris, si adulter futurus eram matris, nonne melius fuerat adhuc latuisse sub undis? Nonne melius fuerat opprobria nobilis Grecie pertulisse quam tam infami crimine me ipsum perdidisse?" Sic ait et amens exsiliit stratis exertoque gladio, "Hic certe," dixit, "iugulus piabit et adulterium matris et mortem patris et crimen non iam filii sed parricide," et verso in suis visceribus mucrone incumbere voluit. Sed misera mater eadem obscena uxor librantis dextre ictum sustinuit. Correpta itaque temeraria ira filii mariti et amentia ut tandem

---

persuasu *om. r.*—150 factum est] efficit *b.*—152 precipitante] preoccupata *b.*—153 quod (*ante* ergo)] q(ui) *r;* quid *Rand.* quod (*ante* scelus)] quam *r;* quid *Rand.*—154 impius] ipsius *r.*—155 monstrum] *Rand;* monstro *r, b.*—157 et] quam *r.*—159 aliquando . . . visionis] aliquam visionem *b.*—161 interfectum] interfectorem *r.* Abhorrere] aborrere *b.*—163 tacito] tacitus *b.*—165 tragedie] t(ra)gredie *b.* Vero *om. b.*—166 in cistella inventis] inv. in cistella *b.*—167 obscenum *om. b.*—169 mei] miseri *r.*—170 melius] tucius *b.*—171 opprobria] obprobria *b.*—173 amens] mox *b.*—174 dixit] inquit *b.*—175 parricide] parricide et adultrius mariti *b.*—177 eadem] eademque *b.*—178 correpta] correcta *r.* Itaque] atque *b.* amentia]

[n] Cf. "Nihil autem opertum est quod non reveletur; neque absconditum quod non sciatur." Lk. 12, 2. (Cf. also Mt. 10, 26; Mk. 4, 22; Lk. 8, 17).

ille in hominem rediit, consulit et persuadet ut ambo communiter eant ad sacerdotum illum cui ipsa aliquando visionem suam retulerat, quique ex magna parte quod iam evenerat divinaverat. Eunt igitur ambo et fusis genibus omnia que sibi evenerant seriatim indicant. Quid faciant quomodo hec crimina expient orant cum lacrimis ut sibi consulat. Ille attonitus rerum novitate et sui vaticinii veritate nullum super hac re consilium in se esse dixit. Tamen consulit ut Iesum magni iam nominis et meriti virum adeant et ut ei suarum miserarum tragedias narrent, eius super tantis malis et peccatis consilium et auxilium postulent, eius pietati et misericordie se commendent. Erat enim iam illo tempore Dominus Iesus miraculorum potentia clarus, tamque doctrina et predicatione divina quam signorum mirabilium attestatione credebatur a fidelibus plus quam homo inter homines esse. Illum Iudas cum matre uxoreque adiit affususque pedibus eius criminis sui omnem historiam ei detexit, veri etiam penitentis habitum, luctum et lacrimas pretendit. Dominus autem Iesus intuitus hominem et quod noverat ab initio qui essent credentes, sciens quam longe esset a regno Dei, tamen ne desperatione salutis cogeretur amplius periclitari, "Potes," inquit, "adhuc salvus fieri si digne penitueris, sed et hec et cetera peccata deinceps vitaveris nec etiam ad maiora te inclinaveris, et ut omnis occasio peccandi ulterius tibi tollatur, reiectis omnibus impedimentis et secularibus negociis sequere me meque imitando in veritate vitam eternam habere poteris."

Hb is conflate. The artistically effective if somewhat pious ending of *Hr* (and *Hd*) did not, it seems, satisfy the scribe of *Hb*. Being of those who wish to hear explicitly the end of the story, he borrowed, practically word for word, the simple closing sentences of the Type R version: "Saluatoris igitur nostri Ihesu Christi per quem .... medius crepuit." This fact is of no special signifi-

amencia *b*.—179 consulit] consuluit *b*.—181 ex magna parte quod] quod ex magna parte *b*. Divinaverat] eis div. *b*.—182 Ambo et] et ambo *b*. Fusis genibus] affusi genibus illius *b*. Evenerant] pervenerant *b*.—185 hac re] habere *r*.—187 et (*ante* ut) *om*. *b*.—188 tragedias] tragredias *b*. Eius *om*. *r*.—191 -que] quam *r*.—193 uxoreque] eadem uxore *b*.—194 historiam] hystoriam *b*.—197 quod] quia *b*. Initio]inicio *r*.—198 salutis *om*. *r*.—199 salvus] salvum *r*.—200 sed et] et si *b*.—202 reiectis] relictis *b*.

cance except as showing that the two versions (Type R and Type H) existed side by side, not only, that is, at the same time but in the same place; so that one was used to supplement the other.

The variants of *Hr* and *Hb* throw some light on the history of this version. The very different readings of the sentence beginning "qua consumpta" (l. 8) prove that the version had already had a considerable career when our manuscripts were written. The text of the original was probably: "Qua consumpta prodigiosum monstrum in eosdem ortus, hoc est in utero suo, mater agnovit; ignis uero non totum se recondebat, sed interiecto longi temporis spacio inde iterum quasi moderacius se subducebat"; that is, "after it [the house] was consumed, the mother perceived the monstrum [had reentered] in that place, namely, her womb; and yet the fire had not altogether withdrawn, but after some time again retired, with rather less violence." This is not perfectly smooth, but one does not expect Tullian perfection of a thirteenth-century monk. The writing of the original, or of the copy (or copies) which the scribes of *Hr, Hb,* and *Hd* may have used, was perhaps none too careful and distinct. For "se recondebat" *r* miswrote "terrendum dabat," which is meaningless; and *b,* omitting the three words "mater agnovit; ignis," wrote "nec tamen" for "uero non." Both misreadings were easy to make; but in both cases the result was not satisfactory.[22] Somewhat simpler is the passage "usque ad horam Illirici maris . . ." (l. 74). If *r* preserves the reading of the original (and there is no reason

[22] It is possible that the original read: "prod. mon. in eosd. ortus, hoc est in ut. suo, nec tamen totum se recond. . . ." that is, "the monstrum returned to that place, her womb, and yet not entirely; but after some time withdrew thence with rather less violence." In this case "mater agnovit; ignis" was an attempt on the part of *r* to emend a difficult text; and he did not wholly succeed.

to suspect otherwise), and if *b* was a copy of the original, it is extremely difficult to see how *b* could have gone so far astray. It is possible, to be sure, that the original had something illegible, which *r* emended successfully, and which *b* did not; but one would rather postulate between *b* and the original an intermediate text in which the passage was somewhat corrupt.

At all events, it is clear that *b* is not a copy of *r*, nor *r* a copy of *b*; that the manuscripts of Type H had a somewhat complicated history; and that this complexity points to the existence of more and earlier manuscripts than have so far been found.

Type P. There are two poetical, or metrical, versions of the legend, each found in two manuscripts. The oldest of the four versions, *Pi*, in a Munich codex of the thirteenth century, was published by Mone in 1838. *Py* contains the same poem.[23] The point of interest in this connexion is that the life of Judas was celebrated in verse as early as the thirteenth century. Du Méril believed that *Pi* was composed directly from the *Legenda Aurea*, and Creizenach states simply that Du Méril has proved this. While no earlier text than *Ll* was known this might well have been considered as self-evident from a comparison

[23] A. D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda*, Bologna, 1869, Introd., p. 93, confused *Pi* and *Py*. Cf. also Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 326 ff., where the poem is reprinted. Creizenach, *Judas Ischarioth in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters* (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Lit.*, II, 2 (1875), pp. 177-207), p. 193, said of this poem: "in vielen handschriften erhalten, worüber cf. Du Méril *l. c.* p. 325" —which is hardly true. Constans (*La légende d'Œdipe*, Paris, 1881) copied, as regularly, from D'Ancona and Du Méril. Professor Rand, overlooking the thirteenth-century manuscript said of *Pz* (which postdates even *Py*) "finally the story was told in verse" (p. 316, and n. 4).

of the poem with *Ll;* but in the light of later evidence it is not so certain. Whether *Pi* derived from *Ll,* however, or from an earlier manuscript of Type L is of no importance. It appears fairly clear that the author of *Pi* had some early manuscript of Type R under his eyes, and probably even of Type H. Compare, for example, vv. 15-19:

> **Res ea finitur solito, postremo venitur**
> **ad sompnum laete, foverunt membra quiete**
> **pausant. interea videt in sompnis Cyborea**
> **acriter ardentem faculam de se venientem,**
> **quae surgens omni flammas immiteret orbi.**

V. 16 suggests the "dum membra sompni fouerat quiete sompnium uidit" of Type R. But the idea of the last two verses surely appears to be taken from the opening of Type H—there is, at any rate, no parallel to it in Type L or Type R. Again, "praevalet inpietas pietati" (v. 67) is closer to "seponitur pietas, preponderat impietas" of Type R than to anything in Type L. Compare, finally,

> **Tandem vimineae puer inmissus Cyboreae**
> **apte viscellae fluctus datur inde procellae,**

with "Cistella uimine contexitur," etc., of Type R. *Viscella* agrees with Type L, which has *fiscella,* while Type R has *cistella,* but the two words could be easily confused in manuscript if not very carefully written; but, on the other hand, *vimina* and *procella* seem to be borrowed from Type R. Verbal correspondences with the Type L version are frequent throughout, and the story is essentially the same. The similarity to Type H in vv. 18-19 may well be coincidence; yet it is probable that in setting to work the poet would gather together what materials he could find; and, since the Type H version is early enough to have been accessible to him, he might naturally have adopted such an embellishment of his narrative, at the

same time rejecting the rest as inharmonious with the traditional, 'accepted' life of Judas. However that may be, the case for the familiarity of the author of *Pi* with some manuscript of Type R seems to me pretty strong.

The other poetical version is found in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, *Pz* and *Px*. The poet was a man of some individuality, and his proem is worth quoting:

> Cunctorum veterum placuere poemata multum,
> Nunc nova scribentem plebs irridet quasi stultum,
> Divicie modulis musarum prevaluere,
> Nemo placet populis, nisi quisquis habundat in ere.
> Unde satis vereor, iam cum nova metra propino,
> Invidus irrisor me mordeat ore canino.
> Una tamen vires scripture res mihi prestat,
> Quod sanctos eciam reproborum lingua molestat:
> Jeronimus pater egregius triplex ydeoma
> Noverat et nobis doctrine misit aroma;
> Non timuit livor huic obvius ire magistro,
> Latratu lacerans illius scripta sinistro.
> Talibus exemplis firmatus, carbasa ventis
> Exponam. Faveat mihi virtus omnipotentis!
> Rem referam gestam, que non est cognita multis.
> Obsecro vos, socii, carmen qui discere vultis,
> Quod, si pars operis vobis non vera videtur,
> Non mea sed primi culpa scriptoris habetur.
> Non ego materiam nugaci pectore fingo,
> Sed mihi narratam puerili carmine pingo.

Thus after a brave beginning the poet proceeds with his tale in a language which some centuries later would be termed 'poetic diction,' adding a large gnomic element, and drawing freely for images from earlier literature. In other words, a modern poet (of the fifteenth century) taking his matter from modern times will challenge the ancients in their own language—an Ovid (say) brought down to date. At line 148 Judas is made one of Jesus's disciples, but the poet goes on for more than a hundred lines, alternating Biblical and purely 'poetical' materials.

In one line at least, however, he caught the true afflatus; of Judas in the Garden of Gethsemane he says:

Basia blanda ferens habitum pretendit amici.

The poet's debt to the *Legenda Aurea* is put beyond question by his paraphrase in the same heavy, mannered fashion of the moral reflections on the death of Judas that close Jacopo's version. Now this heroic endeavor to hoist the legend of Judas into the realm of poetry is a pretty sad failure. The poet had a great deal against him and very little on his side. But it is intensely interesting to see on the one hand how the legend made a considerable appeal to a man of poetic aspirations, and on the other that down to the very end of the mediæval period, when Latin as a literary language had made almost its last stand, the feeling still maintained itself that a revival of the old tongue as a medium for the highest expression of the new life was possible and desirable. This version is perhaps from the point of view of pure literature the apogee reached by the legend of Judas.

Type M (Miscellaneous). For various reasons the following manuscripts cannot be included in any of the above categories.

Mw contains a prose rendering of the legend which, while it is essentially the same story as Type RL, offers certain unimportant divergencies, and is textually quite different. It begins "In ciuitate Iherusalem erat uir nomine ruben." The baby was set adrift "in visellum" lined "cum bithimia," and accompanied with "pannos syndomitas" and a card (*linea*) bearing his name. The story continues as in Type RL: Judas maltreats his brother "usque ad effusionem sanguinis" (he ran the brother through with a sword one day), and upon his origin be-

coming known, the *principes* not wishing to kill him sent him off to Pilate. He killed his father; the *cognati* entered a complaint; Pilate forced the woman to marry her husband's slayer; finally, in the same fashion as in Type RL, the incest was revealed and Judas sought Christ's mercy. Following the legend, however, which occupies three columns, are four columns of Biblical matter, a very much larger proportion than in any of the redactions hitherto mentioned. Perhaps the apocryphal part was meant to lure the reader on to something more devout and substantial, although there is apparently no explicit moral; or possibly this was intended as a complete comprehensive account of all that was known in connexion with Judas.[24]

Another fifteenth-century version, *Mh*, doubtless follows the usual tradition. It begins: "Legitur de ortu Iude filii symeonis scariothis qui tradiderat Christum pro xxx^{a} argenteos. Quod mater eius sompnium haberat de eo. . . ." [25]

A peculiar and doubtless wilful perversion of the legend appears in a Jesus College, Cambridge, manuscript (no. 46 Q. D. 4, fol. 136) in fifteenth-century writing.[26] After the story of the Cross follows a short account of Judas's treachery, and then the usual story of Judas and the Cock.[27] As soon as Judas has returned the pieces of silver he departs and hangs himself. "Sicut pater suus,"

[24] For my knowledge of this MS. I am indebted to notes kindly lent me by Professor Rand.

[25] For my knowledge of this version I am indebted to a note from Professor von Dobschütz.

[26] James, *Descriptive Catalogue* etc., 1895, pp. 75 f.

[27] This story appears first in the *Acta Pilati, rec. B;* see Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876, p. 290. It is still current in various parts of Europe.

continues the scribe of MS. 46, "antequam ipsum procreauit diuinauit. Erat enim pater eius astrologus qui eadem nocte in qua genitus fuerat Iudas respexit planetas et uidit et ita intimauit uxori sue quod siquis eadem hora noctis generaret filium quod ille filius patrem proprium occideret et dominum suum detraheret et se ultimo laqueo suspenderet. Quod factum est sicut prophetauit. Nam statim pater predicti infelicis Iude accessit ad uxorem suam nec se potuit abstinere et filium iniquitatis procreauit. Qui patrem proprium submersit dominum fefellit laqueo se suspendit et sic patet eius origo et eius ffinis."

SUMMARY. We may now briefly review and summarize the material thus far presented. We have at least one version of the legend, Type A, which is undoubtedly of the twelfth century. If, as we commonly suppose, the original purpose of the legend was to render as black and repulsive as possible the man who had been the immediate cause of the death of Jesus, then we must take for granted the passage of some time between the first appearance of the story and the composition of Type A. The twelfth-century author of this version could hardly have been the originator of the legend, for it is neither natural nor probable that one would invent such a horrible 'life' for Judas and then treat him with the longsuffering patience manifest in this narrative—"qui perseveraverit usque in finem in bonum, hic salvus erit." We must, therefore, certainly push back the date of the origin of the legend to a period somewhat before the end of the twelfth century.

The existence of two closely parallel versions in the thirteenth century is significant. The greatest popularity seems to have been towards the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth century; and one might surmise that the incorporation of the legend in Jacopo da

Voragine's collection gave it at that time a fresh impetus, and that more copies were made to meet a larger demand.

Moreover, three distinct versions of the legend existed side by side; and four or more different forms of the story are distinguishable. Of Type A only one text has survived. The Type RL version lasted from somewhere in the twelfth century until well into the fifteenth. For Type H we have two thirteenth-century and one fourteenth-century texts. The first type stands in most regards quite alone; the second and third are intimately related; the fourth is a special rendering, in certain ways related to the first.

It is unnecessary to point out the verbal agreements between Type R and Type L: they are so frequent that a relationship between the two versions is undeniable. Whichever is the earlier, the other must have copied from it;—or perhaps, as Professor Rand thinks, both derived from the same antecedent version. From the slight evidence which we can piece together it is impossible to draw any demonstrable conclusion, but I incline to the opinion that Type L is a development from Type R. The origin of the latter can safely be put in the twelfth century, that of the former we have no means of dating before the early thirteenth century; and while such an argument is not conclusive, it is the best available now. In view of the so-called canonization of Type L in the *Legenda Aurea,* it might be expected to throw Type R quite into shadow; but Type R was thought worthy of reproduction two whole centuries after the compilation of the *Legenda Aurea,* and in point of popularity was a formidable rival of Type L throughout the thirteenth century. A reason for this might be the priority of Type R: the story of Judas was well known before its inclusion in the *Legenda Aurea* and known in another earlier form than that chosen by Jacopo, and the popularity of this earlier form persisted. The

complicated history of the manuscripts of Type R lends some support to this suggestion. And this earlier popularity of Type R slightly strengthens the hypothesis of its being the source of Type L; for some good clerk, observing the faults of the old version—and they are obvious enough —may have undertaken to revise and improve it. Like the majority of revisers, he brought with him as many imperfections as he took away. The rather formal opening: "in diebus Herodis regis Pylato preside" gave way, on this hypothesis, to the simple "fuit quidam vir." The relation of Ciborea's dream and of Reuben's *multimodae curae* (with its "touch of an Ovidian suasoria") were condensed by the new editor. The Type R version omitted to inform the reader at once that the garden into which Judas went for the apples belonged to his father. This rather unskilful omission was remedied by the author of Type L; and then, in order to avoid any possible doubt, he added that father and son did not recognize each other. Ciborea's lament he expanded, and elaborated the revelation of the sacrilege. In removing Pilate's dragged-in philosophical observation (borrowed from Lucan) when he could not overcome his passion for his neighbor's apples, the author of Type L effected a genuine improvement. The *pedissequae,* who figure rather prominently in Type R, were reduced to a prefix in *precepit.* But the crowning achievement of the redactor was the introduction of the moralizing on Judas's death. This, splendidly mediæval in spirit, he perhaps borrowed, or rather developed, from a passage of Candidus (ca. 822) in his *De passione Dominæ,* 13 [28]: "*Et abiens,* inquit, *laqueo se suspendit.* Non enim dignus erat ut vel cœlum tangeret moriens, vel terram; sed inter utraque periit, qui utrorumque Domi-

[28] M. S. L. 106, 84.

num ad mortem tradidit." Or he is perhaps more likely to have adapted it from a similar passage in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.[29]

But whether Type L was originally a 'revision' of Type R, or both came from a single earlier version, it is clear that the greater the complication of details the more time was necessary to bring about such a state, and inasmuch as we find one version before the end of the twelfth century, and two flourishing side by side (three, counting Type H) by the end of the thirteenth century, and obviously earlier than these a simpler, rather different version, we are justified in believing that the legend of Judas existed in Latin at least as early as some time in the second half of the twelfth century.

The importance of Type H as evidence not so much of the date as of the development of the legend is considerable. The main difference between this version and the legend as it appears in Type RL Professor Rand believes

[29] "Et suspensus crepuit medius. 'Et diffusa sunt viscera ejus' sed non per os ejus, ut sic parceretur ori, quo Salvatorem osculatus fuerat. Non enim tam viliter debuit inquinari, quod tam gloriosum scilicet os Christi, contigerat. Dignum enim erat, ut viscera quæ proditionem conceperant rupta caderent, guttur quoque quo vox proditionis exierat laqueo arctaretur. Sæpe enim modum pœnæ exprimit modus culpæ. Unde absciditur homini caput corporis, quia ipse sibi abscidit caput mentis, id est rationem, sicut et Judas mortuus est in aere, tanquam aeris potestatibus sociandus. Congruum enim erat, ut separaretur ab angelorum et hominum regione, qui offensus fuerat utrisque." *In Actus Apost.*, cap. IX. (M. S. L. 198, 1650). Type L says: ". . . viscera ejus. In hoc autem delatum est ori, ne per os effunderetur, non enim dignus erat, ut os tam viliter inquinaretur, quod tam gloriosum os scilicet Christi contigerat. Dignum enim erat ut viscera quæ proditionem conceperant rupta caderent et guttur, a quo vox proditoris exierat, laqueo artaretur. In aere etiam interiit, ut qui angelos in cœlo et homines in terra offenderat, ab angelorum et hominum regione separaretur et in aere cum dæmonibus sociaretur."

to be obviously that "while preserving the general outlines of the story" Type H replaces Biblical with classical or "pagan material." This difference is fundamental, but it does not seem to me the *main* difference. "In two particulars," says Professor Rand farther on, Type A and Type H are related, "first by the quotation of *Nihil occultum quod non reveletur* and, second, by the motive attributed to the ruler for marrying Judas to the wife of the man he had killed. . . . These important coincidences between *P* [i. e., *Ap* or Type A] and *R* [i. e., Type H] make it probable that the latter version is based on early material rather than on *L.*" A comparative analysis of Type A and Type H would reveal, I think, that only by the greatest effort of imagination could they have been derived directly from Type L; whereas the two 'coincidences' plus other obvious parallelisms between Type A and Type H make it quite plain that Type H is a greatly amplified version of Type A. Type A relates: the father saw in a vision that his son would murder him; the son, soon after birth, was exposed in a wood, brought to Scarioth, and when grown put in the service of Herod; in compliance with the desire of his master, Judas went to fetch fruit from a neighbor's garden, and slew his father; Herod, to quiet the enraged populace, married Judas to the slain man's widow; mother and son recognized each other by the scar of a wound inflicted when the child was exposed, and sought and obtained Christ's forgiveness. The author of the Type H version, being a good classicist, expanded this story with material taken from the sources that he knew best. The father's vision he made into the mother's dream, and took his idea for this and the burning fire-brand probably from the legend of Hecuba.[30]

[30] For example, from Ovid, *Her.* 5.

Again, the exposure in a wood and the wounding of the child's tibias he rejected, substituting the setting adrift in a chest either from the general store of mythological incidents, or perhaps directly from the legend of Gregory, which was already current in an elaborate form in French verse in the second half of the twelfth century.[31] Being a Frenchman, he may well have been acquainted with the country about Buthrotum, from the Crusades, and possibly had heard of the district on Corfù called Skaria—whence his expression: "haec famosa alitrix Iudae traditoris."[32] The rescue by fishermen, the nourishing by poor parents, the tablets bearing the child's name, and even perhaps the idea of a quarrel with his companions, the author might easily have adapted from the legend of Gregory. The agonistic games, given the idea of a quarrel as the motive for his returning to Jerusalem, would come naturally from Virgil, since Æneas had already instituted them at Buthrotum. After this point the story follows Type A with elaboration but with no change of incident until the recognition. Type H is further related to the Gregory legend by the expressed moral: "potes adhuc salvus fieri si digne penitueris."

If this hypothetical outline of the development of Type H out of Type A be sound, we should have also a fair sketch of the origin of certain elements of Type RL. This outline tacitly assumes that Type H antedates Type RL, but I am unwilling to deny that Type H may have very conceivably taken some of its characteristics and details from Type RL. At all events, grant that a thorough-going classicist had at hand Type A for a basis and some text

[31] See below, pp. 595 ff.

[32] The tradition associating Judas with Corfù can be traced back to the twelfth century. Cf. my note on *Roland 3220, 3220a* in *Romanic Review*, VII (1916), pp. 211-20.

of Type RL for details, and Type H is easily accounted for. Such a scheme of development is admittedly too simple to be certain; I offer it merely as a tentative suggestion,—and indeed more than that, in view of the paucity of accessible data, is scarcely possible.

We have seen that the legend enjoyed two metrical redactions, one almost at the beginning of its popularity, the other at the close of the Middle Ages. The opening lines of the former, *Pi,* are of some interest.

> Dicta vetusta patrum iam deseruere teatrum
> Et nova succedunt, quae prisca poemata laedunt.
> Ergo novis quaedam placet ut nova versibus edam
> Quae discant multi novitatis stemmate culti,
> Et me, si quis amet, legat et per compita clamet.

The fifth verse was taken by D'Ancona to mean that the author was making an effort to introduce the legend into the literature of the people. From this single verse he generalizes thus: the legend of Judas did not penetrate into the "coscienza popolare" although it is found "in monumenti di letteratura popolare, o per dir meglio, destinata al popolo."[33] It would hardly appear, however, that a tale intended for popular consumption or for the edification of the masses would be put into Latin verse at any period during the thirteenth century. "Et me si quis amet legat et per compita clamet" is something like what in these days we call self-advertising; it is, in fact, simply a borrowing from Ovid.[34] There is no evidence *here* that the legend of Judas was popular among the folk.

[33] Introd., p. 92. In a note he explains: "Questo intento di render popolare la leggenda trovasi anche sul bel principio della Leggenda latina in versi," and quotes the first five lines. The *anche* is misleading. Constans, copying from D'Ancona, repeats this, but notes (pp. 97-98) that Du Méril recognizes that the legend does not belong to popular literature, properly so called.

[34] Professor Rand drew my attention to this Ovidianism; cf.

Greek Versions

In the *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XX (1898), pp. 605-19, V. Istrin published a short article on *Die griechische Version der Judas-legende,* at the end of which he printed two Greek texts of the legend. One of these was taken from a manuscript (no. 132) in the Dionysius Monastery on Mt. Athos. In the *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, 1895) by Spyr. P. Lampros, I, p. 341, this manuscript is no. 3666, of the seventeenth century; the legend of Judas, *περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου Ἰούδα,* is § 38. Istrin gave no indication of the date of the manuscript. The other Greek text Istrin took from a brochure published at Athens in 1889 by a Mt. Athos monk. No date is given to this text, but it is certainly as late as that represented in Dionysius 132, and probably somewhat later. There are, moreover, two other manuscripts at Mt. Athos containing the life of Judas: 3794 (Dionysius 260) § 27, of the seventeenth century; and 4616, § 4, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[1] Whether these represent different redactions from those printed by Istrin I cannot say—from the titles one would infer that they were all four distinct. For convenience I shall refer to them by the first four letters of the Greek alphabet: A, 3666, Dionysius 132, published by Istrin; B, *βίος καὶ κακουργήματα,* reprinted by Istrin; Γ, 3794; Δ, 4616. At present I can discuss only A and B.

In most regards A represents the simpler and probably

Nequitiam vinosa tuam conuiuia narrant,
Narrant in multas conpita secta uias. *Amor.* 3, 1, 17-18.

and

Mouerat ingenium totam cantata per urbem
Nomine non uero dicta Corinna mihi. *Trist.* 4, 10, 59-60.

[1] Lampros, I, p. 387; II, p. 157.

the earlier of these two redactions. B contains an introduction and conclusion which do not properly belong to the legend; it is somewhat longer than A, and shows slight expansions here and there; it is assigned to a definite author, Dionysius the Areopagite; and it is provided with a definite moral, lacking in A: *ὅτι μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ πεπαλαιωμένον κακὸν νέον καλὸν δὲν γίνεται.* Inasmuch as the texts themselves are easily accessible in the *Archiv* I shall simply outline the version given by A and indicate the differences in B.

A certain wise man—*τὶς τῶν σοφῶν*; in B Dionysius the Areopagite—says that Judas came from the land of Iskara, and was of Jewish race; B omits this last particular. His father's name was Robel; no name is given for his mother. Robel's wife had a frightful dream one night, that she should bear a child that should become the destruction—B, *χαλασμός*—of the Jews. Her husband reproached her for putting any faith in dreams. But when the child was born she set it adrift on the sea in a basket, without her husband's knowledge—in B both parents expose the child, in a *κιβώτιον* (later *θίβη*), on the sea of Galilee, *καθὼς τὸ πάλαι τὸν Μωϋσῆν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον.* Opposite Iskara—B, Iskaria—was an island, to which the child drifted; and there he was cared for by shepherds and named Judas because he came from the Jews—B omits the source of his name. When he was grown they took him to Iskara—B, the city of Iskaria—to be reared. Here he was adopted by his own father and mother, although they did not suspect it was their own son. Another son was born to them soon after, and the two children grew up together. But Judas, being of an evil nature, often struck—B, continually maltreated—his brother—because, as B explains, he was avaricious and eager for his share of the patrimony—; so that his mother—B, his parents—upbraided him. One day when they were going to a certain—B, distant—place, Judas slew his brother with a stone, striking him on the temple—B, *ἔπραξεν ὅτι ἡ αἱμοβόρος αὐτοῦ ψυχὴ ἐπεθύμει*—and then fled to Jerusalem;—in B the flight is motivated (Judas fearing the consequence of his crime) and the parents' sorrow is described. At Jerusalem he became Herod's steward (*ἐξοδιαστής*—B, *ἐπιμελητής*). Some time after that, owing to a disturbance at Iskara, Robel and his wife moved to Jerusalem and took a fine house with a garden near Herod's palace;—B elaborates a picture of the garden. On account of the lapse of time father and son did not recognize each other;—B omits this statement. One day

Judas stood beside Herod looking over into Robel's garden and offered to fetch his master some of the fruit from the trees. As he was stealing the fruit he was met by his father, who demanded an explanation—in B Judas said he came from the king—but seeing no one near he killed his father with a stone, just as he had killed his brother, and carried the fruit to Herod. Afterwards—B, *μετὰ παρέλουσιν δὲ ὀλίγου καιροῦ*—Herod called Judas and desired him to marry the widow and inherit her possessions. To the widow herself Herod sent word apologetically—in B gave command—and said: it is my royal wish that you should take a second husband or forfeit your wealth to the king. When she heard this she was persuaded—in B instantly obeyed—to marry Judas in order to retain her property. Judas and his wife lived together some time, and she bore him several sons. One day, however, she withdrew from his company and pondering on the past wept bitterly. On being questioned by Judas she repeated her sad experiences, and he perceived finally that she was his own mother—the scene of recognition is somewhat briefer in B. When she learned that she had married her son she gave way to vehement expressions of grief; and Judas, as soon as he saw what evils his avarice had wrought, turned in repentance to Jesus, who was then in Jerusalem, was made a disciple and steward; but stole monies and sent them to his wife and children:—the whole conclusion, in A somewhat confused, is more fully and carefully expressed in B; B adds also briefly the betrayal and death of Christ.

This story of the life of Judas, though so different from the Latin versions in many details, is nevertheless patently of the same piece. In point of completeness, that is, in comparative development of the legend, it must occupy an intermediate place between the earliest Latin version, Type A, and the usual mediæval version, Type RL, approaching much nearer the latter. The differences are obvious. In the Greek Judas's mother has no name; in Latin Type RL she has the name Ciborea. The native land of Judas is Iskara, Iskaria, but the island is without a name; whereas in the Latin Iskara has been transferred to the island. The whole incident of the rescue and upbringing is different in detail; the Greek appears to be a transitional stage between the simple account in Type A and the developed situation in Type RL; or rather, per-

haps, one should say, from the simple account of Type A the Latin developed in one direction and the Greek in another. Judas is rescued in the Greek version not by a queen but by shepherds; he is adopted by his own father, not by a stranger, and thus in killing his *own* brother he is guilty of a much blacker crime. The description of the fratricide (especially in B) is reminiscent of the murder of Abel in a much more definite way than in the Latin. The ruler is Herod in Latin Type A and in the Greek, but is Pilate in the later Latin versions. The figure of Herod in the Greek points, I think, to an earlier form of the legend: as ruler of Judæa Herod would be the more natural personage to choose, especially as long as the name had no connotative value. Later, in the West, when Pilate had become a hated figure, it would be more likely to place side by side those two 'wicked birds' who had brought about the death of Jesus. The Greek versions, besides making Judas guilty of slaying his blood brother, add further to his wickedness by having him propose to Herod the theft of his neighbor's fruit. In both Latin and Greek versions the sudden marriage of the widow is ill managed, but the Greek B gains a certain kind of verisimilitude by offering her the alternative of marrying or losing her property. In both of the Greek versions, but especially in B, the grief of the mother-wife on becoming aware of her crime is much more fully described than in the Latin Type RL.

All these differences seem to indicate that the Greek versions are in some way or other redactions of a Western original. Although we have no absolute evidence that they are older than the sixteenth century, still we may assume with considerable confidence that they go back to a much earlier time; for it would be unreasonable to suppose, if they are as late as the sixteenth century, that they

would be so different from the Western Latin and vernacular versions which by the end of the thirteenth century had attained their full development. Such a supposition would carry with it the assumption of a totally independent origin; and that is both unlikely and unnecessary.

Vernacular Versions

We do not find the legend of Judas in the vernacular until the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. But from this time onward it appears in varying forms, scattered across the whole of Europe, in almost every language. In general it may be said that throughout the West the vernacular versions are taken more or less directly from the *Legenda Aurea;* but on account of the essential similarity between Type L and its frequently copied companion, Type R, it is never quite possible to determine which of these was the source. On the other hand, while there are Western versions which certainly do not derive from Type RL, or indeed from any known Latin source, the Russian and Bulgarian versions appear to be simply copies from the *Legenda Aurea.* At present no precise scheme of the derivation and sources of the vernacular versions can be worked out; and it is doubtful if such a stemma will ever be possible.

English. The earliest English version of the legend is found in the South-English legendary, compiled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Our oldest manuscript, Laud. Misc. 108 (ca. 1285-95) represents an incomplete form of the collection and does not include Judas; but MS. Harleian 2277, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, whose contents may be considered as representing the norm of the collection, has the lives of Judas and Pilate at the

end.[1] Mss. Egerton 1993, Ashmole 43, Lambeth 223, and Vernon, which contain this same legendary with various omissions and additions, all four leave out the legend of Judas. But on the other hand MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 145 (fol. 214), of the early fourteenth century; Kings College, Cambridge, 13 (§ 59), of the fourteenth century; Trinity College, Oxford, 57 (fol. 22b), of the end of the fourteenth century; Laud. Misc. 463 (fol. 35b), of the end of the fourteenth century; Trinity College, Cambridge, 605 [R. 3. 25] (fol. 270b), of the beginning of the fifteenth century; Tanner, Oxford, 17 (fol. 80), of the beginning of the fifteenth century:—all these contain the Judas legend, some at the very end of the collection, others after the *Passio*.[2] The variations in the texts and in the arrangement of the legends in these several manuscripts are considerable. The text of Harleian 2277, the oldest complete version of the legendary, is very corrupt, and shows that even as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century the collection had had something of a history. It is quite certain that this *Mirrour of Saints' Lives*[3] was compiled at about the same time as

[1] Harleian 2277 was edited in full in the *Transactions of the Philological Society, 1858.* Part II: *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas) copied and edited . . .* by Frederick J. Furnivall, Berlin, 1862. *Judas* is on pp. 107-11.

[2] British Museum Addit. 10301 contains the same collection as Harleian 2277, except that the end of the MS. is wanting, and therefore the Judas. According to Horstmann, MS. Philips 8253 (at Cheltenham) is a later copy of Harleian 2277. I am indebted for many of the above statements to Horstmann's introduction to his *Altenglische Legenden,* Paderborn, 1875, and *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge,* Heilbronn, 1881. A concise statement of the results of his investigations of the relationship of the various MSS. of the English legendary is to be found in his introduction (pp. vii-xi) to the *Early South-English Legendary,* London, 1887 (E. E. T. S.).

[3] A title suggested by Horstmann.

the *Legenda Aurea* and independently of it; and this fact serves to show (as Horstmann remarked) that before the end of the thirteenth century the number of saints' lives and legends had become so great that the establishment of some kind of canon was felt to be necessary. Such a labor was undertaken simultaneously in England and in Italy. Jacopo da Voragine probably made some preliminary collections before he published (so to say) his finished work, and we know that the English legendary did not spring full-formed from the mind of any single monk; it was more or less of a gradual growth. There is nothing to prove, of course, that the *Legenda Aurea* did not later exercise a certain influence on the English collection, but similarities between it and the English collection as it stood at the end of the century are to be considered the result of a use of common sources rather than of interdependence.

The legend of Judas did not belong (as has been said) to the first English collection. When it was added later, but still probably in the thirteenth century, it was naturally placed at the end, not merely as an appendage, but also because Judas Iscariot was decidedly outside the pale of honored saints. Afterwards it was seen that, like the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, the legend of Judas would have a kind of dramatic value if placed immediately after the Passion of Christ,—just as the French made it a part of the 'vengeance' of our Lord.

In the several manuscripts enumerated above[4] as containing the legend of Judas the version is the same except

[4] With these is probably to be placed codex 7669.50 of the Oxford folio catalogue of manuscripts (1697): 'Vitae Sanctorum & Maledictorum Judae & Pilati, metris Anglicis vetustioribus,' from the library of Robert Burscough, A. M. This manuscript I have been unable to trace.

for scribal variations, and for somewhat different dialectic colorings. Unless otherwise indicated, however, the quotations will be from Furnivall's text (Harl. 2277). In all the manuscripts, moreover, the life of Pilate either follows or precedes the life of Judas, and contains a reference to the Judas legend:

> Iudas was þer his steward: forte he his fader aslou;
> And forte he wedde his owe moder.[8]

Harleian 2277 has the colophon: *hic finiuntur gesta Maledictorum Iude et Pilati.*

The story is told in verse, and contains 146 seven-stress lines, beginning:

> Iudas was a liþer brid; þat ihesu solde to Rode
> Sum-what me maie of him telle: ac lute of enie gode
> For me ne schal no whar: of him wite bote ho so wole lie
> Ruben was his fader icliped: his moder Thiborie.

Thiborie was a shrew, and one night she dreamed she had borne a child which was a curse before the whole world. She told her husband that if she found she had conceived she should believe the dream a true premonition. When her time came she explained the situation to her friends, but they knew not what to do, for all were loth either to murder the child or to bring it up. Finally they placed it in a *barayl,* cast it upon the sea, and it came to the isle of Cariot (whence Judas received his name). There, a child *manlich and fair,* it was picked up by the queen and made heir to the realm. But

> Iudas bigan sone
> To do liþere and qued ouer al: as him was to done
> Children þat he com to: he wolde smyte and bete
> And breke here armes and here heued: and god þat lete
> To þe kinges sone he hadde enuie.

[8] Furnivall, p. 114.

At length the queen told him he was a foundling: he bided his time, secretly slew his supposed brother, fled to Jerusalem, and there became a steward of Pilate—

> For ech þing loueþ his iliche: so saiþ þe boc iwys.

One day Pilate and his steward went out to play; *vnder an orchard* Pilate saw some fine apples and bade Judas climb over for them. It was his father's orchard, but Judas did not know it. Reuben at once appeared and was "annoyed" to find a stranger in his garden; from words they fell to blows *so þat hi neme aiþer oþer bi þe top.* Judas downed his father and smote him with a stone *bihynde in þe pate.* Having returned with the apples and pears [*sic!*] he related his adventure to Pilate, who the following day went to Reuben's house and gave both the house and the wife to Judas, *for he* [Pilate] *was maister & Iustise.* From the complaints uttered by Thiborie Judas became aware of his crime, and at her instance joined himself to the company of Jesus. But *a schrewe he was al his lyf:* he stole from the purse to recover his loss resulting from the waste of Magdalen's ointment, and then sold his Master for thirty pence. As a thief he deserved hanging, and since no one would do it for him he was obliged to hang himself.

> His wombe to-berste amidde atuo: þo he schulde deye
> His gvttes fulle to grounde: menie men hit iseye
> þer wende out a liþer gost: atte mouþ hit nemiȝte
> For he custe er oure louerd: þerviþ mid vnriȝte
> Nou swete louerd þat þurf Iudas: isold wer to þe treo
> Schuld ous fram þe liþere stede: þer we weneþ þat he beo:
> Amen.

In incidents the English poem agrees closely with the Latin Type RL,—the mother's consulting with her friends with regard to what should be done with the infant is about the only variation. But in certain points the Eng-

lish poem is briefer than Type RL. Both the English and Type RL are further connected by the birds-of-a-feather idea of the union of Pilate and Judas, and especially Type L by the hint of the moralizing on Judas's death. Whether the English poet used Type R or Type L it is impossible (and unimportant) to determine; and, of course, he may have known them both. But from its close adherence to the Latin Type RL, from its association in the manuscripts with the life of Pilate, and from its inclusion in a collection of legends which was contemporary with and independent of the *Legenda Aurea* (although we have no manuscript of this collection before ca. 1300 which contains the legend of Judas), we may be fairly certain that the English poem was based not on some early copy of the *Legenda Aurea,* but on an independent manuscript which contained the life of Judas, either Type R or Type L, and the life of Pilate side by side.[6]

In the collection of Saints' Lives in the Scottish dialect attributed to John Barbour and believed to have been written probably a little before the year 1400, the legend of Judas is found prefixed to the life of Mathias.[7] Barbour's Legendary was unquestionably based in the main on the *Legenda Aurea;* and in the legend of Judas the translator followed his original as closely as the four-stress English couplet can follow Latin prose.

A passing mention of the early life of Judas occurs in John Mirk's *Festial* of English sermons,[8] composed,

[6] Such a MS., for example, as St. John's College, Cambridge, 214 (*Lc*); see above, p. 497.

[7] *Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung,* ed. C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1881, I, pp. 107 ff., Horstmann's general introduction to Barbour's legendary is in his *Altengl. Legenden, N. F.* pp. lxxxix-cix.

[8] Ed. Theodore Erbe (E. E. T. S., Extra Series XCVI), London, 1905, Part I, p. 79. The *Liber Festivalis* was one of the most popular

largely from the *Legenda Aurea,* about 1400. In the chapter 'De Festo S. Mathie' we read simply that Judas, before becoming a disciple, had "slayne his owne fadyr, and bylayn his owne modyr." Whether the brevity of this reference indicates that Mirk took for granted a certain familiarity with the legend of Judas on the part of his readers, or that for one reason or another he preferred condensation to detail, it would be hard to say. Of the source there can be no question: it was the *Legenda Aurea.*

The legend appears again in English verse in a poem entitled *Suspendio Judæ,* a later addition to the Towneley Mysteries.[9] After the manner of the *Passion* of Arnould Greban [10] Judas relates his life and sorrows in a strophic monologue probably introduced into the performance of the play just before his suicide.[11] It begins:

Alas, alas, & walaway!
Waryd & cursyd I have beyn ay;
I slew my father, & syn by-lay
  My moder der;
And falsly aftur, I can betray
  My awn mayster.

My fathers name was ruben, right;
Sibaria my moder hight;
Als he her knew apon a nyght
  All fleshle

---

early printed books; by the end of the fifteenth century it had supplanted in popularity the South-English Legendary discussed above. See also Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg., N. F.,* pp. cix ff.

[9] Publication of the Surtees Society, 1836, pp. 328 ff. Edited also by G. England and A. W. Pollard for E. E. T. S., London, 1897, pp. 393 ff. "This poem is added," says a footnote in the edition of the Surtees Society, "in a more modern hand, apparently about the commencement of the sixteenth century." The poem is probably somewhat older. Only a fragment of it is preserved.

[10] See below, p. 542.

[11] Creizenach (*op. cit.,* p. 194) suggests that perhaps this poem was *a bänkelsängerballade.*

In her sleyp she se a sight,
A great ferle.

The poem appears to follow the usual tradition of Type RL, but it ends abruptly at the point where the Queen of Scariott bears a child of her own after having adopted Judas.

Apart from this monologue appended to the Towneley mystery the legend of Judas is not found in any of the early English plays.

FRENCH. I know of but one French version of the legend earlier than the fifteenth century—the rather pretentious poem of 676 lines, published by D'Ancona in 1869 from a manuscript in the Turin library which bears the date of June 1309.[12] This version is not, I believe, a translation from the *Legenda Aurea,* as some scholars, unacquainted with the other Latin versions, have assumed, but rather from Type R: as the following parallels will show.

His elaborate invocation finished, the poet begins the story—

Au tans que Herodes fu en vie
Et qu'il resnoit la signourrie
De le terre de Gallilee,
Et de Pylate tint Judee
Et Iherusalem autressi,
De le lingnie uns hom issi
De Judas, qui Rubem ot non.
En Judee manoit cis hom.
Une femme ot, ce dist l'istoire,
Qui fu apelee Chiboire.

[12] D'Ancona, Introd., p. 9, and pp. 75-100. For textual emendations see G. Paris in *Revue Critique,* IV (1869), art. 123, pp. 414-15, and A. Mussafia in *Litterarisches Centralblatt,* no. 28 (1869). D'Ancona's work is reviewed by R. Köhler in *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Lit.* XI (1870), pp. 313-24 (= *Klein. Schriften,* Berlin 1900, II, pp. 190 ff.).

Compare with this the opening of Type R: "Fuit in diebus Herodis" etc. When Ciborea awakes from her frightful dream Ruben says, in Type R: "Admiror, inquit, que tanta tristicie causa sic tua uiscera moueri compulerit." In Type L there is no corresponding speech; but the Old French poet has Reuben cry:

> "C'as tu, dist il, ma douce amie?
> Trop m'esmervel, m'amie ciere:
> Pour coi tu fais si mate ciere?
> C'as tu au tresalir eüt?
> Pour coi pleures? qui t'a meüt?
> Je m'en esmervel pour m'ame."

With "cornua lunaria refulserunt" of Type R, an expression quite lacking in Type L, compare:

> Ja aloient aparissant
> Les .II. cornetes du croissant.

In Type R Reuben is exceedingly grieved at the birth of the child and takes on himself the burden of disposing of it, whereas in Type L the *parentes* face the problem together. Again the Old French poem follows Type R:

> Ruben en fu tous esmaris
> Quant voit le valeton venu,
> Ne set qui li est avenu.
> Or ne set il que faire en doie,
> Il ne set nule bonne voie;
> Pense que c'est contre nature
> De maumetre s'engenreüre:
> S'il l'ocist trop iert desloiaus,
> Et si l' nourist mout fera maus:
> Ensi porroit bien avenir:
> Dont ne se set conment maintenir.

The *pedisseque* of Type R, unmentioned in Type L, are the *chambrieres*. And finally, the death of Judas is related simply, as in Type R, without any allegorical adornment. Further parallels could easily be pointed out,

but these are sufficient to indicate the close relationship of the French poem and Type R.[13]

On the other hand, the story of Mary Magdalen and the 'waste' of the ointment, from John 12, 3-8, is here for the first time, so far as I am aware, incorporated as an incident in the complete *life* of Judas. The material is purely and simply Biblical, and so open to all comers, but it is mentioned, though only by implication, in the Type L version and entirely omitted from the Type R version; so that it is fair to assume that although the poet was working chiefly with Type R, still he was acquainted with Type L; the more so since he made use of the Type L version's effort to explain away the apparent inconsistency of the 300 and 30 denarii.

The legend is found in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Lille (454, fol. 45), condensed from the *Legenda Aurea* into the space of less than one small quarto page.

Cosquin mentions a life of Judas in a manuscript executed in 1478 for William of Terny, provost of Lille, now belonging to Prince Czartoriski of Cracow. I have been unable to see it; but from the description given by Cosquin it follows the usual tradition.[14]

A fifteenth-century manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale (anc. fonds 181) of *La vengeance de la mort de Jésus-Christ* contains, together with an account of the expedition of Vespasian and Titus and the legend of

[13] It is possible that the Old French poet had a copy of *Rn:* for "utinam falsus subrepens intimauit" of the Type R version *Rn* has the variant "utinam falsus subrepens ymaginauit" and the poem has:

U j'ai mauvaise entention
U fausse ymagination
U mes esperis fu ravis. (69-71)

[14] Emanuel Cosquin, in *Revue des questions historiques*, Apr. 1, 1908, p. 389.

Pilate, a prose life of Judas (beginning fol. 177) which is worth quoting in full.[15]

Cy nous dit de la naissance de Iudas, de sa vie, de ses aventures dont il fut, et de sa maulditte fin. . . . Et pour cest matiere declairer plus au long lentrenne par aucunes escriptures que Iudas disciple a nostre seigneur, lequel par sa mauuaise connoitise consentj a la mort de Ihesu crist son seigneur et maistre, fut natif de la cite de Iherusalem, et fut filz de ung riche Juif nomme Rubem, qui eut a femme une noble matrosne nommee Ciboree. Et il aduint par temps conuenable que Rubem eust de sa femme ung fils nomme depuis Iudas. Et ainsi que Cyboree estoit enchamte de ce Iudas il aduint que une nuit elle songa que son filz seroit une tres mauuaise personne tout son temps, et que auant quil morust il seroit cause de la destruction de la loy et du poeuple des Iuifs entierement. Incontinent que dame Cyboree fut esueilliee pensant a ce que dit est elle fut toute espouentee et eut moult grant paour pour le merueilleuz songe quelle ainsi auoit songie. Et en moult grant esbahissement le racompta a Rubem son mari si tost quil fut esueillie. Lequel nen tint pas grant compte et ne si arresta point. Ainchois respondi a sa femme quelle ny pensast plus, car ce nestoit fors illusion daucun mauuais esperit, si nen oza la dame pour lors plus parler. Laquele au chief de temps conuenable enfanta ung moult beau fils. Et quant elle fut bien reuenue de son enfantement il luy a la souuenir de ce merueilleux songe dont de rechief elle parla a Ruben son mary, et par plusieurs fois. Et tant fist par remoustrances deuers luy que tous deux furent en doulente de le tuer et de lenfouir secretement en leur iardin. Toutefois ilz en eurent orreur et pitie aucunement pour tant que lenfant innocent leur sembla moult bel, et aussi nature y contredisoit fort. Maiz ilz penserent longue que de cel enfant ilz pourroient faire. Et en la fin par accord et dun consentement ilz charpenterent secretement une laye de bois et de conuenable grandeur, et bien poyee et estoupee. Ilz couchierent lenfant dedens bien et nettement enueloupe, et puis ilz porterent et misrent icelle laye en la mer, en le recommandant a dieu; et eulz attendant a lui uil dispo disposast a son noble plaisur de leur enfant sen retournement a maison.

Comment Iudas enfant arriua en lisle de Scarioth et comment il y fut le bienuenu et doulcement esleue.

Quant Iudas fut comme dit est habandonne de pere et de mere ainsi comme dieu le voult il aduint que icelle laye arriua pres

[15] The writing and the illuminations of this MS. are unusually beautiful. See the enthusiastic praise of Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1838, II, p. 84.

de terre en ung ysle de mere nomme Scarioth, et a celle propre heure que la dame de celle contree sesbatoit au serain sur la riue de la mer. Et incontinent que icelle laye fut veue de assez loing flotant sur leaue la dame voult sauoir que ce pouoit estre. Et par ung botequin lenuoia querir et regarder dedens. Et quant elle sceut que cestoit ung si bel enfant masle moult en fut ioieuse et bien lui fut aduis que dieu de sa grace luy auoit enuoye pour tant que desia longuement estoit mariee. Et si nauoit encoires nulz enfans. Adont elle fist prendre lenfant quelle baisa moult de fois et tres secretement le fist porter en son manoir et commanda a ses gens que a personne nulz nen parlast tant chier quilz amoient leur vie. Et quant elle fut venue a son hostel tantost fist lenfant aisier et mettre a point. Et ce fait le print et moustra a son seigneur et mary en racomptant a la verite ce quelle en sauoit, dont il fut moult ioieulx. Et pour mieulz contenter son poeuple elle se tint tres coiement et solitaire en son manoir ung temps comme selle portast enfant. Et en aprez la voix couru generalement par toute celle terre entre ses hommes quelle auoit. Jeu de celluy enfant: de quoy tous et toutes eurent tres grant ioie. Ce fait elle donna a cel enfant a nom Iudas; et neut oncques depuis aultre. Toutefuoies elle le fist moult doulcement esleuer et nourrir comme son propre enfant et de fait cuidoit tout ce poeuple que Iudas fust filz de leur seigneur et de leur dame; pourquoy ilz le honnouroient comme en tel cas appartient. Maiz gaires ne demoura apres ces choses quant la dame se retrouua enchainte, et eut ung moult beau filz de son seigneur—dont ils furent tous ioieulz. Et lors que ils sceurent Iudas et lui aler et parler ilz furent longuement nourriz et esleuez ensemble comme se ilz feussent deux freres germains.

Comment Iudas sceut que pas nestoit filz a la dame de Scariot. Et comment il murtry le propre filz de la noble dame.

Quant les deux ieunes enfans parlerent et alerent tous deux estoient beaulz et bien venans et fort se prindrent a croistre. Ilz sesbatoient par coustume ensemble, mais Iudas qui estoit aisne et de mauuaise nature et inclination tousiours faisoit grief et iniure a son compaignon qui estoit de sa nature courtois et debonnaire. Et de fait souuent la faisoit cryer et plourer. De quoy la noble dame estoit a la fois mal contente. Et pour amender Iudas et oster ses iniquitez elle souuent le corriga par remoustrer et aultrement per menaces et batures. Mais pour chastoy ne pour remoustrer iamaiz ne cessoit de greuer et fouler son compaignon. Et la noble dame pensant a la grant courtoise dont elle vsoit enuers Iudas et comment venu lui estoit dauenture moult grant dueil en auoit. Finablement la dame voiant ung iour comment Iudas fouloit son seul enfant se courrouca moult fort a lui, ne plus ne lui voult celer son estat. Et par grant

courrouz le appella trouue et lui dist: Certes tu nes pas mon enfant, ne tu ne mes rien, car lors que tu nauoies encours deux mois de age mes gens et moy veismes a ung serain une laye de bois flottant sur la mer, si enuoiay sauoir que ce pouoit estre; et tu fus trouue dedens. Et lors par pitie mon seigneur et mon mary et moy te auons jusques a present fait nourrir et esleuer comme si tu estoies nostre propre filz. Et ie treuue iournellement que tu ne nous fais fors corrouz et deplaisir. Quant Iudas ait entendu ce que dit est, moult grant despit en ot et vergougne, si sen retrouua tout honteuz et pensif. Adont comme remply de mauuaise voulent et de villain courage se pensa que briefment il feroit grant deplaisir a tous ceulz qui tant doulcement lauoient esleue et nourry. Et aduisa une nuit entre autres que temps et heure prospice estoit pour accomplir son tres dempne vouloir; et de fait approcha le ieunecel[16] son compaignon qui se dormoit et de son couteau taillepain lui coupa la geule. Ce fait il party secretement de la maison du seigneur comme aduise se son fait, et se mist toute nuit au chemin par deuers la mer.

Comment Iudas fut a Pylate. Et comment il tua son propre pere nomme Ruben.

Quant Judas fut venu au port de mer dicelle terre il estoit ia heure de none. Si trouua illec ung groz bateau chargie de gens et marchandises qui vouloient estre en Iherusalem; si entra sur mer auec[17] les autres et vint en brief terme en Iherusalem; et fut par telle aduenture preserue de mort. Car quant il fut a ce matin grant iour et la dame de lisle de Scariot vey que leure accostumee passoit que son filz et Iudas ne se leuoient et venoient en sale, elle enuoia en leur chambre ung seruiteur pour les faire leuer, si trouua la tres piteuse aduenture du ieunencel[18] qui auoit le garge coppee, et de Iudas ne scauoit nouuelle; si se print au crier tout hault tant que la dame et les meismes y accoururent, qui de ce meschief demenerent grant dueil. Et demandans apres qui ne se trouuoit point fut quis et demande par toute la terre. Car sil fust adont trouue de sa vie nestoit riens. Mais il nagoit tant quil pouoit vers Iherusalem, ou en brief terme il arriua. Et assez tost par son engien il trouua les manieres destre lun des seruiteurs de Pylate, qui pour lors estoit preuost de Iherusalem de par lempereur de Rome et le senat. Et ainsi comme naturellement chanc creature aime son semblable Pilate print Iudas grandement en son amour pour tant que Iudas assez le ressembloit de meurs et conditions. Et lors que Pilate le eut ainsi prins en sa grace il le ordonna tout gouuerneur de son hostel et de sa famille. Entre ces chose aduint ung iour que Pylate dune fenestre de sa chambre regardoit sur ung iardin qui seoit dempres sa

[16] Ms. iennencel. [17] Ms. aueuc. [18] Ms. iennencel.

maison, si percheu (?) en ce iardin ung pommier chargie de moult belles pommes, dont il ot tres grant desir et voulente den mengier; et fist appeller Iudas, auquel il demanda comment il pourroit auoir de icelles pommes. Adont Iudas qui grant desir auoit de complaire a son maistre lui respondj que il len feroit auoir; si descendj en bas et incontinent ala monter par dessus le mur du iardin et entra dedens. Or estoit ce iardin tenant et appartenant a la maison de Rubem pere de Iudas qui le demouroit. Mais comme dit est devant, Iudas ne scauoit dont il estoit ne qui estoit son pere ne sa mere, dont il estoit moult desplaisant. Si aduint que a icelle heure que Iudas estoit ou iardin son pere et que il cueilloit des pommes Ruben qui en fut aduerty entra de sa maison en son iardin, si trouua Iudas qui cueilloit son fruit oultre son gre et larchineusement sans congie, dont il fut mal content et en reprinst et dist villonie a Iudas et Iudas a luy; et tellement respondj a Ruben que par leurs paroles ilz vindrent a la dure meslee. Car ilz se entreferirent de poings bien longuement et monta leur hutin en si grant mal talent et yre que Iudas qui estoit moult fort et ieune et son pere ia tout anchien, que de son coustel il tua Ruben son pere. Ce fait, prist des pommes et puis se party tout quoiement du iardin ainsi comme il y estoit entre et porta les pommes a Pylate et en les lui baillant dist comment le maistre du gardin lui estoit venu courir sus et en soy deffendant lauoit abatu par terre, puis sen estoit reuenu et que de ce fait nulz rien ne scauoit. Quant les nouuelles coururent aual la cite de Iherusalem que Rubem si auoit estre trouue mort en son iardin, incontinent Pilate mist sus et imposa au dit Rubem que lui meismes sestoit desespere et occis. Car pour lors nulz fors lui et Pilate[19] ne sauoit quy ce murdre auoit commis, dont ilz estoient bien contens.

Comment Iudas sceut que il auoit sa mere a femme et que il auoit occis son propre pere et qui il estoit. Et de sa repentance.

Quant Pilate eut ainsi a Rubem impose sa mort il apprehenda toute sa ceuance per confiscation. Et comme a lui confisquee il la donna Iudas. Et puis fist tant par deuls Cyboree, la femme de Rubem, quelle prent Iudas a mary. Et par ainsi doncques Iudas occist son pere et eut sa mere a femme, qui fut une chose trop horrible et esmerueillable.—Or aduint une nuyt ainsi comme Cyboree souspiroit forment elle estant en son lit Iudas la ouy souspirer et dont lui demanda quil lui faissoit et pouruoy elle souspiroit. Et elle lui respondj moult forment plourant et dist: Certes ie me retreuue auiourdhuy la plus maleureuse et la plus fortunee de toutes femmes du monde. Et pourquoy, dist Iudas. Certes, mon ami, dist

[19] Judas?

elle, pour tant car ia pieca ie fus consentant que ung beau filz que iauoie fust noye, et le pere mon mary si accorda. Car nous le portasmes a la mer en une laye de bois, et la le boutasmes sur leaue, ou il demoura a lauenture de dieu. Et ce feismes nous pour le mieulz et pour cause dun trop merueilleuz songe que ie songay de mon enfant lors que ien fus enchainte. Et en apres long temps durant lequel ie ne euz oncques puis[20] plaisir iay trouue mon mary murdry en mon iardin, et si nay peu sauoir qui ce dangier ma fait. Dautrepart Pilate ma voulu marier a son plaisir; et si nen auoie point de voulente, mais ie luy ay accorde pour demourer en mes biens lesquelz il auoit confisquez par la mort de mon mary, quil disoit soy estre desespere et oncques my pensa. Quant Iudas eust ouy et entendu sa propre mere ainsi parler, laquelle il auoit cogneue charnellement par inaduertence comme sa propre femme, il entendj assez par la deposition ia picca a lui faitte par la dame de lisle de Scariot comme dit est: que il estoit lenfant meismes qui par la mere fut miz en la laye de bois sur la mer. Et par consequent il sceut que lui meismes auoit murdry son pere et prins sa mere a femme, dont il sen trouua tout esmerueillie. Et en pensant a ces choses il le prinst moult fort a repentir de ses pechies, et dist a sa mere sans plus la infourmer de la besoigne: Ma bonne amie, ne vous desconfortez point, car puisque vostre plaisir est tel iamaiz plus ne quier de vous approchier, dont elle fut bien ioieuse. Et lors Iudas en pensant a ces choses et pour trouuer pardon de ses pechies, qui estoient moult grans. Et meismement par le conseil de sa propre mere a qui depuis il se descouury, il se mist en la compaignie de nostre seigneur Ihesucrist.

Comment Iudas se mist en la compagnie de nostre seigneur qui leslut a disciple et le fist son procureur. Comment il le trahy, et comment il se pendj.

Comme entendre pouez se mist Iudas en la compaignie des appostres de Ihesucrist pour y faire sa penitance, et fut par nostre seigneur esleu et retenu lun de ses douze appostres. Et tous iours fut surnomme Scariot, ou, comme dit est, il demoura premierement. Et luy fist nostre seigneur tant dhonneur que il le constituta son procureur; et portoit Iudas la bourse ou len mettoit la peccune que len donnoit a nostre seigneur pour son viure. Mais par la grant conuoitise dont il estoit plain il larchineusement en retenoit tous iours apart quelque chose. Et finablement par son grant auarice il trahi son maistre et le vendj pour trente deniers dargent. Et quant il considera le grant mal quil auoit fait il se repentj aucunement et rendj aux juifs les trente deniers quil auoit recheuz de celle marchandise; et il voyant quilz

[20] Plus?

les reffuserent se desfia de la misericorde et grace de nostre seigneur, et comme tout desespere de iamaiz auoir tant les tenoit a grans et enhormes, il prist ung tronchon de corde et se ala pendre a la branche dun arbre en ung grant iardin non pas moult loing de Iherusalem, et la fut trouue le maleureuz comme cy dessus est plus au long declaire.

This version appears to be an expanded form of Type RL; and although the ending resembles in brevity that of Type R, the co-operation of both parents in setting the infant adrift, the absence of the attendants on the Queen of Scarioth when Judas is discovered on the waves, and the allusion to the similarity of the character of Judas and Pilate, point to Type L as the source. But if we consider the time when the author of the *Vengeance* was at work, we cannot doubt that he may have known both Type R and Type L. It is unnecessary to point out the simplicity of this rendering and its admirable realistic touches. The author of this version, although not much of a stylist, had certainly the knack of story-telling.

The legend of Judas was included in the *Vie de Jesu Christ* first printed by Foucquet in 1485, but frequently reprinted in various parts of France down to the eighteenth century. This *Vie de Jesu Christ* is a fifteenth-century compilation, the first part of which is based on the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi,* and the second on the *Gospel of Nicodemus;* and between these two is inserted the legend of Judas. From the fragment printed by M. É. Roy in his *Le mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*[21] it is clear that this version has textually no relation to that just quoted in full. They are independent elaborations of the Latin Type RL.

[21] Dijon et Paris [1903-4], pp. 284-5. On the *Vie de Jesu Christ* cf. pp. 327 ff. and 347. The *Judas* is fol. lxii-lxvii of the 1485 edition.

The earliest appearance of the legend in mediæval French drama is in the Semur *Passion,* which represents a transitional stage between the early Sainte Geneviève *Passion* and the later "grandes *Passions.*" Here the legend is mentioned in connexion with the familiar story of Judas and the cock. On the second day, when Judas returns to his mother with the thirty coins, she upbraids him for his treachery, calling him "malvoix traictre, et larron faulx":

> Lorsque tu ouz tué ton pere,
> Tu m'esposas, quil suis ta mere.
> De nostre outraigeuse vie ordre
> Nous deut faire misericorde.[22]

In Greban's *Mystère de la Passion,* which was already famous in 1452, the legend of Judas is also merely an echo, confined to a sort of recitative soliloquy pronounced by Judas as he comes to Jesus to seek forgiveness for the past and to become a disciple. We learn merely that he was saved by a *dame de beau maintien,* that he slew the lady's son, and afterward killed his own father and married his mother. This bare outline of the story offers no hint of Greban's source, except that it must have been some form of the prevailing type, that is, Type RL. It is obvious from the casual way in which the legend is treated that Greban must have taken for granted a certain familiarity with it on the part of his audience—otherwise the elaborate lyrical complainings of Judas would be nearly meaningless.[23]

[22] Roy, p. 124, vv. 6116 ff.

[23] Ed. G. Paris et G. Raynaud, Paris, 1878, Second Day, p. 144, vv. 11021 ff. That Greban followed the *Legenda Aurea* version may be inferred from the words of Desesperance, that Judas's evil soul could not issue from his mouth "qui toucha a chose tant digne" (p. 288, vv. 22018 ff.).

In the later *mystère,* that of Jehan Michel, which belongs probably to the last quarter of the fifteenth century,[24] the legend receives a large share of attention: the whole story from the fratricide onwards is presented vividly to the spectator. In scene 9 Judas quarrels with the son of the King of Scarioth over a game of chess, kills him, and flees. He becomes Pilate's major-domo (scene 10). Reuben and Cyborea (scene 14) in their garden lament their long lost son, when Pilate enters and orders Judas to rob the apple-tree. Judas quarrels with the old man and kills him; whereupon Cyborea cries to Pilate:

> O Juge, Juge, Juge, Juge,
> Je requiers vengeance, vengeance.

Pilate, however, proposes to her that she marry Judas, pointing out the financial advantages of the match, and finally she consents. In scene 16 Cyborea, profoundly distressed, asks Judas about his previous life, and divines the truth. On her counsel he confesses to Jesus (scene 19) and becomes a disciple.[25] This elaboration of the legend seems to be based not directly on the *Legenda Aurea,* but on some later, more circumstantial reworking of the material, as is especially noticeable in the matter of the sudden marriage. In the early versions it was related merely

[24] We have an edition of it dating probably between 1486 and 1490. For the relation of the 1507 edition to the work of both Greban and Michel see Petit de Julleville, *Mystères,* II, pp. 398 and 439. I follow the analysis from the cyclic edition of 1507 in the *Histoire générale du théâtre français* by the Frères Parfaict, reprinted by de Douhet in Migne's *Dictionnaire des mystères,* col. 663 ff.

[25] At Sotteville-lez-Rouen there was a famous *jeu de paume* where in 1530 a society of amateurs gave several plays called "jeux de Sotteville." Among these plays was a *vie de Judas,* probably from the *Passion.* Cf. Gosselin, *Recherches sur les origines et l'histoire du théâtre à Rouen,* Rouen, 1868, p. 37. (Petit de Julleville, *Mystères,* II, p. 117).

that Pilate *had* the widow marry Judas, while here she makes a natural plea for justice in behalf of her murdered husband, and even more naturally refuses for some time to marry the villain. M. Roy (p. 285) suggests that the *Vie de Jesu Christ* may have been Jean Michel's source.

A reflection of the legend appears in the *Debat de l'omme et de la femme* by Guillaume Alexis, dated about 1460.

> Cayn tua Abel son frere;
> Judas aussi Ruben, son pere.

In the English version of Guillaume's *Debat* this passage runs:

> For Caym kylled Abell, his gentyl brother,
> And Judas Ruben, his father, dyd slay.[26]

GERMAN. In mediæval German literature I have found four versions of the legend. The first is in a fourteenth-century poem, *Das alte Passional.*[27] That the poet used a Latin source is evident from several remnants of Latin inflectional endings in his verse, as well as from his own statement. In the Judas portion, which contains 551 verses, the author follows often word for word the *Legenda Aurea,* with here and there an elaboration or expansion of his source, and some additional conversation to enliven the narrative. A departure, however, from the Latin is the statement, before Pilate's desire for the apples is mentioned, that Reuben was still living in Jerusalem "riche genuc" and believed his own son had perished in the water. The reader is thereby deprived of a slight surprise, but the story does not suffer. When Pilate longs for some of the "epfelle" the poet tells us it would have been bad

[26] Ed. Piaget et Picot, Paris, 1896, I, p. 142, vv. 167-8; p. 153, vv. 165-6.

[27] Mone, *Anzeiger*, VI, col. 143-56. Later ed. by K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1857.

enough if he had sent a messenger to ask for them; but, what was worse, Judas not only entered the garden and took the apples, but also injured the tree. When he returns with the stolen goods, Pilate, utterly depraved, tells him:

> Daz ist gut,
> habe darvmbe guten mut
> sit is ot niman ensach.

When Ciborea comes to Pilate for justice he feigns ignorance and orders her to marry Judas. Here the bluntness of the narrative is very striking. Cyborea obeys Pilate's mandate, but grieves afterwards, as in the Latin. After Judas is made a disciple, the poem continues for 150 lines, or nearly a fourth of the whole, with Biblical material, including the incident of Mary Magdalen and the loss of the oil, and ends with the moralizing on Judas's death.

A very interesting document in the vernacular history of the legend is the fragment of Johannes Rothe's *Passion* preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Dresden.[28] This fragment comprises three chapters, the life of Judas, the story of the thirty coins, and the legend of Pilate. That is, we have here another fifteenth-century extract which unites the lives of Judas and Pilate, and incidentally, to make the account of Judas a little more complete, includes the legend of the thirty pieces of silver which passed through his hands.[29] Rothe died in 1434; his *Passion* must then belong at the latest to the early fifteenth century.

[28] Ed. Alfred Heinrich, *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, 26. Heft, Breslau, 1906.

[29] Cf. Du Méril, *Poésies populaires*, pp. 321-4; L. De Feis, *Studi religiosi*, II, pp. 412-30, 506-21; G. F. Hill, *Archæologia*, LIX (1905), p. 9; Budge, *Book of the Bee*, pp. 95-96; R. Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 1900, pp. 116-7.

Wenig lute habin daz vornomin,
Wo dan der vorretir sy komin,
Judas Scariod genant.
In eyme buche ich beschrebin vant,
Daz eyn man zcu Jherusalem sesse . . .

This *book* was the *Legenda Aurea,* or an extract from it; and Rothe's translation is neither very free nor slavishly literal. Here and there the bare narrative of the Latin is slightly expanded, but only in the interest of vividness or from the exigencies of metrical translation, seldom by the introduction of new matter. The most considerable variant is the discovery of the floating chest by a fisherman; after which at the queen's suggestion the baby is cared for by the fisherman's wife until such time as the queen can pass it off as her own. The fisherman and his wife may well have been borrowed from the legend of Gregory.[30] The close, however, is treated somewhat freely; the narrative breaks off where Judas is accepted by Christ and made his "scheffenere"; and is followed by a long comparison of the life and character of Judas with the life and character of Moses.

The legend of Judas was recorded again by Rothe in his *Thüringische Chronik,* completed in 1421.[31] Here, although certain variants are noticeable, the source is unmistakably betrayed by a complete rehearsal of the reflections on Judas's death which follow the legend in Jacopo's version. In general the narrative is somewhat briefer. The statement in the Latin that Judas was named from the island of Scariot, omitted from the *Passion,* is preserved in the *Chronik.* The fisherman and his

[30] See below, pp. 595 ff.

[31] Ed. R. v. Liliencron, *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen,* III, Jena, 1859. Cf. Aug. Witzschel, *Die erste Bearbeitung der düringschen Chronik Rothe's, Germania,* XVII (1872), pp. 129-69; and Heinrich, pp. 3, 92 ff.

wife, who were introduced into the *Passion,* do not appear in the *Chronik,* but the chest is discovered by the "furstynne" of the land as in the Latin. The *Chronik* says that Judas's supposed brother was just one year younger than he. The comparison of Moses and Judas gives place to the *Legenda Aurea* ending.

The fourth German version of the legend is in the adaptation of the *Legenda Aurea* called *Der Seelen Trost.*[32] Here the story is related with great smoothness and simplicity. The incident of Mary Magdalen is introduced (as in the *Passional* and the Old French poem), and also the stealing of "den zeinden pennink" (redecima). The end is brief: Judas suffered remorse for the betrayal, returned the money, "und viel in einen mistroist und geink ewech und erheink sich selver. Also geink it eme umb sinre mistait willen, dat hei kreich einen boissen doit und boese ende." Thus the moralizing of the *Legenda Aurea* and its group has fallen away; and the tale merely shows that a man reaps the harvest of his ill deeds.

ITALIAN. It seems clear that the legend was not so well known in the Italian vernacular as it was in the French and German. The only reference to it I have found is the text printed by D'Ancona, which is simply a literal translation from the *Legenda Aurea.*[33]

[32] Pfeiffer, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Kölnischen Mundart im 15. Jahrhundert,* no. 93, 'Van Judas und van sinen alderen,' in Frommann's *Die deutschen Mundarten,* II (1855), pp. 291-3. The *Seelen Trost* is found in a Low German MS. of the year 1407; it was printed in 1474. Cf. also Mone's *Anzeiger* XIII (1866), col. 307; and *ZfdPh,* VI, p. 424.

[33] D'Ancona, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-73. His text (reprinted in D'Ancona-Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana,* I, pp. 567-70) is from Codex Riccardiano 1254, car. 78, collated with the Venetian Legendary of 1477

DUTCH. The three Middle Netherlandish forms of the legend of Judas were published by C. G. N. de Vooys in 1901.[34] The first, from a Combourg manuscript, is a translation of some form of the Latin Type R.[35] The second is the legend as it appears in the *Passionael*.[36] It follows the Latin Type L, and was probably translated directly from the *Legenda Aurea*.[37] The same version (a separate extract from the *Passionael*) is found in a seventeenth-century manuscript at Wenen. The third Middle Netherlandish form of the legend (from a Hague MS., Kon. Bibl. X 71) is borrowed from *Der Sielen Troest*, but as to the story agrees in the main with the *Passionael*, inasmuch as both go back ultimately to the *Legenda Aurea*.[38] An interesting variant is that Judas is rescued not by the queen of the island but by the king. A similar variant appears in some of the nineteenth-century English versions of the legend; but this may be, as De Vooys remarks, a mere coincidence.[39]

and Cod. Pal. E. 5. 1. 31. Cf., however, the Italian post-mediæval versions below.

[34] *De middelnederlandse Legenden over Pilatus, Veronica en Judas*, in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, XX (1901), pp. 125-65.

[35] De Vooys perceived this from Du Méril's brief note on the 'other' Latin text (*Poésies pop. lat.*, p. 326, n. 1).

[36] About 20 MSS. of the *Passionael* are preserved, the earliest of which dates from 1400; it was printed in 1478 with the title *Passionael winterende somerstuc*.

[37] "Het Passionael geeft een getrouwe vertaling van de Aurea Legenda." De Vooys, p. 160.

[38] "Die tekst uit het Haagse handschrift X 71, onleend aan *Der Sielen Troest*. In hoofdzaak wordt hier het Passionael gevolgd." De Vooys, p. 160. The editor has collated the *Sielen Troest* with the Hague MS.

[39] That such a variant should occur, however, is the more remarkable since the early printed edition of the *Sielen Troest* follows the usual tradition.

WELSH VERSIONS. The legend was translated from the Latin into Welsh as early as the end of the thirteenth century. In part II of Peniarth MS. 3 (= Hengwrt 408), written ca. 1300, a fragment of an *Ystorỳa Judas* is preserved, beginning: "Gwr gỳnt aoed ỳngkaerusselem aelwit Ruben Ereill ae galwei sỳmeon o lin Judas ac o lin ysachar herwyd ereill . a ciborea oed henw ywreic. . ." [40] Complete versions which begin very similarly to this and are apparently copies of the same translation, though with some verbal differences, are found in Peniarth 7 (= Hengwrt 3), of the fourteenth century: *Ystoria Judas ysgarioth,* col. 237; [41] and in Peniarth 14 (= Hengwrt 25 and 13), in a hand of the second quarter of the fourteenth century: *Ystoria Judas yw hon,* p. 161.[42]

What appears to be a different translation, but of about the same date as Peniarth 14, is found in Peniarth 5: *Llyma mal y treithyr Historia Judas,* fol. xi, which begins: (E)F a darlleGyt ynebun ystoria bot gur ygkaerussalem a ruben oed y eno . ac a eluyt heuyt olin iren o luyd iudas neu o lin ysachar heruyd ereill . a gureic aoed idau oed y heno cyborea. a nosGeith guedy bot kyt ydaG ae Greic kyscu aoruc hy abreuduyt aGelei. . . .[43]

That these translations were made from some copy of Type L is clear; but whether the Peniarth 3 fragment was translated from the *Legenda Aurea,* or from some early

[40] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language,* vol. I, Part II, Peniarth, p. 304.

[41] *Op. cit.,* p. 319.

[42] *Op. cit.,* p. 333.

[43] *Op. cit.,* p. 308. This version is printed in *Selections from the Hengwrt* MSS. *Preserved in the Peniarth Library,* vol. II, ed. by Robert Williams, with translations (continued by G. Hartwell Jones), London, 1892; text pp. 271 ff., translation pp. 624 ff. A note, p. 751, says "The *Historia Judas* follows Royal 8 E xvii" (*i. e.,* my *Lg*).

separate text, as we conjectured the English version in the *Mirrour of Saints' Lives* to be,[44] it is impossible to say.[45]

IRISH. In the *Leabhar Breac,* which exists in a fourteenth-century manuscript, we find implications of the Judas legend, although the story is not told explicitly. In a passage 'Of Judas and his Mother' beginning on p. 222 of the facsimile edition we read that after Judas related to his mother how he had sold his Master she cried: "Woe to her that is in my wretched and contemptible existence, because that I have borne an incestuous and flagitious offspring such as thyself. . . ." Then follows the story of Judas and the cock. ". . . So when incestuous sinful Judas saw the boiled cock rise out of the cauldron, thereby he recognized that Christ would rise from the dead."[46]

SCANDINAVIAN. The legend is found in Swedish in two versions. The older occurs in the *Fornsvensk Legendarium,* a thirteenth-century translation of the *Legenda Aurea.*[47] The later version is in the *Själens Tröst,*[48]

[44] See above, p. 528.

[45] Later Welsh versions of the legend appear in Llanstephan MS. 24 (= Shirburn C. 24), of the late sixteenth century, *Historia Judas,* fol. 93 (*op. cit.* II, ii, p. 454); Llanstephan 117, *Llyma ystoria Svddas vyradwr,* p. 195, dated "xx awst 1548" (*op. cit.* II, ii, p. 575); Peniarth 118 (= Hengwrt 518), of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, pp. 625-91 of which contain extracts, etc. (apparently designed for a Dictionary) including the story of Judas (*op. cit.,* I, ii, p. 723); Cardiff MS. 11 (= Ph. 2161), of the late sixteenth century, a fragment of the end of *Ystori Svddas,* vol. II, p. 111 (*op. cit.,* II, i, p. 143).

[46] I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor von Dobschütz.

[47] The earliest MS. that we have, the Codex Burneanus, is dated 1350. The *Fornsvensk Legendarium* was edited by George Stephens, Stockholm, 1847. The legend of Judas is in the chapter on St. Mathias, I, p. 243. The same version occurs also in an Upsala MS., C 528,

which was translated ca. 1430 from the *Selen Troyst* in the dialect of Lower Saxony. Compare, for example, the Cologne dialect *Seelen Trost's* rendering of the birds-of-a-feather idea: "want der ein was so wail ein schalk als der ander, dar umb quamen si wail zosamen" with the Swedish version: "ffor thy then ene war swa arghir skalk som then andre, oc thy komo the wel badhe til saman," and the closeness of the translations in the different languages is at once apparent. But the Swedish adds the following moral:

> My dear children, let your actions as well as your name be Christian. There is many a wicked man who does worse than Judas did; Judas sinned against his parents unconsciously, many Christian men sin against their parents both wittingly and willingly. Judas sold his Master for thirty pence; many a Christian sells Him for a farthing or for an evil deed. But the torments of these men will be far greater than those of Judas.

Here it is of interest to observe that the unpremeditated nature of Judas's sins is expressly pointed out. This is, I believe, the only place in a mediæval document where such a perception is recorded; for the other versions, both Latin and vernacular, rest practically their whole point on the inherent wickedness of Judas. 'Judas was a monster, for lo! he committed these horrible sins,' they argue; and so they judge him, without inquiring into the nature of his horrible sins. Apart from this there is nothing in the Swedish versions of special consequence; they indicate merely the spread of the Judas legend via the *Legenda Aurea* and its concomitant, the *Seelen Trost.*

dated 1420-50. Cf. Robert Geete, *Fornsvensk Bibliografi*, Stockholm, 1903, no. 200.

[a] Ed. by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1871-73, 'Aff iwdas skarioth,' pp. 86-90. A Danish translation, *Siäla Tröost*, is mentioned by Klemming, p. vii.

CATALAN. Mila y Fontanals, in his article on *Catalanische Dichter,*[49] says that to the period of the great Ramon Lull (1235-1315) we must attribute a *Biblia rimada y en romans* and other small works in verse, including a *De Judes Escarioth e de la sua vida,* together with the lives of Pilate and Veronica. These are united with a *Saltiri* in prose "lo qual trasladat fó de lati en romans per frare Romeu Burguera" (1228-1315). The association, then, of this life of Judas with the lives of Pilate and Veronica, together with a work professedly translated from the Latin, would seem to indicate that we have here a life of Judas taken possibly from an early copy of the *Legenda Aurea,* or in any event from one of the thirteenth-century Latin versions of the legend. If the former alternative is true, the Catalan poems cannot be construed merely as a token of the popularity of the *Legenda Aurea,* inasmuch as the Catalan poet obviously chose what interested him from Jacopo's great collection, and found it worth while to turn his Latin prose source into vernacular verse. This speaks something for the range of attention that the legend drew.

PROVENÇAL. The vernacular versions of the Judas legend that we have thus far considered illustrate its popularity and its development of the Latin sources, but we come now to a version which—in spite of the comparatively late date of our text—appears to represent an earlier stage in the history of the legend than any that have been discussed, whether Latin or vernacular. This version is from the so-called Gascon *Passion* in the well-known Didot manuscript,[50] written in the middle of the fourteenth cen-

[49] Ebert's *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Lit.,* v (1864), p. 137, n. 2. The existence of this version was noted by Creizenach.

[50] Now Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4232. For a detailed

tury. The *Passion* is still unpublished, but I give here in full that portion which contains the legend of Judas (fol. 29v (formerly cvi) - 33 (formerly cx)).

Quan Iudas vic l'enguent vesar sobre Ihu Crist le vec si de pes he dit devant tos aquestas paraulas.

Baros certas fort suy irat,
e fort me tenc per asoutat,
e per cert vos dic fort me es greu,
car aysi perdi so del mieu.
Vos entendet be mo sermo,
mas non entendet la razo
ne per soy ta fort viat,
ni per soy ta mal paguat.
Hieus ho diray, si nos es greus,
e qual guiza perdi so del mieu.
Be crey que avet auzit dir
que mos maestre fe partir
de ma molher per lo pecat,
que y era grans, per veritat.
Lo pecat vos diray qu' era
ans que segua en fust ni en peyra.
Vers es can Ihesu Crist nat,
lo rey Erodes fo yrat,
e ac ne gran comfuzio,
can saub que lo senhor del mon
era en tera davalat,
e que di vergis era nat,
e fe tos los enfans degolar

---

description of the MS. cf. Paul Meyer, Appendix to Introduction of his edition of *Daurel et Beton*, pp. lxix-cxx. Further cf. Chabaneau in *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVIII (1885), pp. 8-23, where a portion of the MS. is printed (Judas omitted), and pp. 53-65, a study of the language of the printed extracts; and XXXII (1888), pp. 343-5. A fragment of this *Passion* in the Catalan dialect was discovered some years ago at Palma; in this fragment only a portion of the speech which contains our legend is preserved. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XVII (1880), p. 303, and Constans, *Œdipe*, pp. 101-2. Constans (p. 100) was the first to draw attention to the legend of Judas in the Gascon *Passion*. For a brief summary of the *Passion* see Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, II, p. 351.

que de .ii. ans poc atrobar.
E mon payre, cant ho auzi
mot gran dolor n'a entre si,
ma dona mayre ishament
hac dolor e gran mariment.
Agron enter els aytayl acort
aytan be me tenian per mort,
que'm giteso per l'aygua aval,
ab gran dol e ab gran trebalh.
Per ho metoron me en .i. vaysel de veyre
et heu en devengn en .i. regisme.
Mas enans de sisque
ma mayre en laygua 'm gites
mi fe .i. ceyal en l'asquina,
am fer caut que mi paria.
E quant lonc tems agn rodat
per l'aygua fu atrobat,
et .i. bon home que 'm trobec
al rey de la tera 'm portec,
e lo rey fe 'm be noyrir
et hieu pensey: deu folegir.
Aytant pensey heu de folia
que gran mal me volia.
Puys a cap de tems s'esdevenc
que mon payre en la tera venc,
e tant que desavenc se ab mi,
e aqui mezieys iheu l'ausizi,
e aytant tot com l'agui mort
mi tengn per dezastuc fort,
e comense tost a fugir
e en esta tera a venir.
E quan fu aysi vengut
an per hom no fu conogut.
Ma mayre azautec se de mi
e heu d'ela atresi,
de tal guiza nos azautem
que aqui meteys nos ajustem.
E quan aguem esems estat
lonc tems en ferma amistat,
nos aguem .ii. enfans agut
que encara no'us fom conogut.
E une vet can fom colocat,
ela'm toquec tost los costat
e conc(?) me aquel seyal

qu' era 'm fe am fer caut,
e tantost ela s'esperdec
e mot fort greu s'epaventec,
e dit mi d'on era vengut
ni en cal tera era nascutz.
E dissi li: "iheu fu atrobat
"en riba d'aygua miey neguat,
"e fuy mot be costozit,
"en la tera ben noyrit,
"tro que per ma folor n' eysi,
"per .i. bel hom que ihesu auzi."
E quant ela ho entendec,
ades greument ne sospirec
e dit: "Amic, tu es mo filh,
"fort te dic qu'em en gran perilh,
"sapias que cel que as ausit
"era ton payre he ton amic,
"asat me semlas desastruc,
"car ab ta mayre as yagut,
"e ton payre que aias mort,
"fort deus aver gran desconort,
"car home ab ta gran pecat
"no crey pogues ecer trobat."
E iheu conogui la eror,
responzi li ab gran dolor:
"dona, be conosc lo pecat
"e quant ague soy desastrat,
"que no say qual cosel mi prengna,
"ni en cal via iheu mi tengna.
"Hieu say .i. bon coselh que penrem
"al sant maestre no'n anem,
"si no que nos em tos perdut
"Aquet acort ensems parlen,
"al sant maestre no'n anem,
"e contem lo la veritat."
E el conoc nos en pecat
e dit: "baros si m'en crezet
"bos autres bonalx beyret
"que's partiret aysi amdos,
"e tu, Judas, seguiras nos,
"e tu seras mos mayorals,
".i. d'els mes apostos seras,
"e als autres ministraras,

" e tot quant dieus nos donara
" per tu aministrat sera,
" e tu cromparas de ta ma
" tot quant mes nos se despendra.
" A tal molher dic atretal
" que sia bona e leyal,
" e sia bona ensanida,
" per que pusca aver vida apres,
" e tu no ayas cura d' ela
" pus que de neguna feda
" ni ela no laya de tu.
" E crezet m'en ben cascun,
" car si mon mandament crezet,
" ses dupte bona ho beyret."
Et iheu auzi lo mandament,
sequi lo volonteyrament,
per lo pecat qu'eu y sabia
volonteyramen m'en partiria,
per ho responi 'l soptemen:
" Senher, iheu soy en pensament
" de .ii. enfans, senher, que ay
" qui 'ls noyrira ni co 'ls entertendray?"
E el respon me be e breument:
" Hieu t'o diray mot be e gent,
" ab lor mayre se noyriran,
" et iheu dar los ay que manyaram,
" de tot quan dieu nos dara
" la reyre depne lor sera,
" que haquel te don suvamt dieus
" per so que vuan los filhs teus."
Ara auzet, per veritat,
auzilz com mi avi dat
lo reyre denne mi a tot.
A gran pecat e a gran tort
d' aguest enguent que a fayt vesar,
puys nos asay ayam a manyar,
el me tolc be .xxx. diners
que agra hom be si 'l vendes,
car certas .ccc. diners valia,
que res mens non falhia,
et aras vey que es perdut,
no valgra may que fos vendut
e que fos a paubres donat
e no agra tant mescabat.

.xxx. diners n'ay heu perdut,
be mal dia m'es avengut,
mas be vos dic que nos perdray,
que ans los recrubaray,
o iheu faray una tal res
que tos veseret mors ho pres
qu'eu no m'en poyria estar
que no los an be demandar.

In hardly a single detail does this Provençal life of Judas accord with the familiar Latin life; but in general outline—exposure, parricide, incest, repentance—they agree. In the mention of Herod (although as an entirely different figure) and in the absence of the fratricide, this version is nearer to the Latin Type A than to any other, but still no sufficient agreements subsist to warrant our assuming any derivative relationship between the two. Only this much we can say with assurance: as Type A is structurally the simplest and probably the earliest of the Latin versions, so the Provençal is the simplest and probably also the earliest of the vernacular versions. One would hardly be willing to suppose that by the middle of the fourteenth century only such echoes of the traditional life of Judas had reached Provence as would be pieced together to make this story in the Gascon *Passion;*[51] nor that the Gascon author, acquainted with Jacopo's rendering and possibly with others', played fast and loose with tradition and *remade* the early history of Judas to suit his own pleasure. Let us assume for the moment that our legend was actually an adaptation of the myth of Œdipus; could it then have been that the notion of making Judas a second Œdipus occurred to two men independently, and each

[51] That is, for example, word was passed on simply that the early life of Judas resembled that of Œdipus. This is rendered very unlikely, however, by the fact that the legend was told in Catalan from the Latin half a century earlier.

worked out the idea after his own manner; that in total ignorance of the Latin versions some Gascon priest or monk brought forth the story we have in the Provençal *Passion,* whether before or after the origin of the Latin versions, yet independently? Or is the Provençal version a belated descendant of the earliest version of all, stranded, as it were, in the South of France and left behind by the later development? This last hypothesis appears to be, on the whole, the most reasonable and the most probable.

With regard to the later Provençal documents, it is worth noting, though perhaps not of great importance, that in the fifteenth-century *mystère* of *Le repas chez Simon* the legend has no place.[52]

A late Provençal version, which is obviously merely an awkward condensation of the usual legend, is reported in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* in a *Notice sur un livre roman, imprimé à Toulouse au milieu du XVI^e siècle.*[53] This book is a paraphrase of the popular fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Vie de Jesu-Christ.* "La première partie de ce livre singulier," says the author of the *Notice,* "se termine par la vie de Judas Iscariote. Nous devons tenir compte au traducteur patois de l'effort de laconisme qu'il a fait en renfermant dans trente-deux vers la vie tout entière du traître, vie qui, dans la traduction françoise, n'occupe pas moins de huit pages in-4°."

Lo fals Judas foc dauant sa nayssunsa
Preuist souuent per falsa vision
Don sos parens per euitar greuansa
Lo meten en Mar fugen deception
Et peys arriuec sens dubitation

[52] Cf. A. Jeanroy et H. Teulié, *Mystères Provençaux du Quinzième Siècle,* Toulouse, 1893.

[53] *Bulletin,* L (1850), pp. 779 ff. Although the Provençal document postdates the year 1500 it is clearly a left-over of the Middle Ages, and so properly belongs here.

En Scarioth ung Isla tal nommada
Don la regina ne fec reception
Et lo noyric en loc dauer linada.
Apres auenguec la regina enfantec
Ung bel enfant de soun propi marit
Loquel Judas vilanament tuec
Donc cascun dels foc grandament marrit
Et quant venguec que el laguec ferit
Lo maluat Judas fugit de la mayso
Ben sabia quel rey lo aguera aucit,
Car aquo era be dreyt et mais raso.
Lo fals Judas tuec son propi payre,
Per sa folia et maluada arrogansa,
Et peys apres el espousec sa mayre,
Que foc un cas de granda violensa
De que Pylat ne fec le concordansa.
Per satisfa al murtre quauia fayt
Mas el ho fec tot per inaduertensa
De que peys apres conoguec son mal fayt.
Judas conoguec son cas et son offensa
De que el foc marrit et desplasent
Jamays naguec en el bon esperansa
Lo Diable era en son gouuernament
Mas lo dos Jesus volguec estre content
De lo perdonar son borsier lanec far
Mas a la fin lo trasit durament
Et en se penian sanec desesperar.[54]

Bohemian. The legend of Judas was known in Bohemia by the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.[55] From the Old Czechian *Imperial Chronicle,* however, which is based on the *Legenda Aurea,* the legend is omitted, much in the same manner as from the

[54] A rather garbled text of this poem was printed by G. Brunet in an additional note (col. 722) to the article on Judas in de Douhet's *Dictionnaire des Légendes du Christianisme* (Migne) 1855.

[55] Cf. Julius Feifalik, *Studien zur Geschichte der altböhmischen Literatur;* VII, 'Über die Bruchstücke einer altčechischen Kaiserchronik und über die Benützung der Legenda aurea in der altčechischen Dichtung,' in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Classe,* XXXVII (1861), pp. 56 ff. I am indebted to this article for most of my knowledge of the Bohemian version.

Legenda Aurea Abbreviata. It is hinted at in a rimed commentary of the Ten Commandments, apropos of the Fourth:

> Třetí mrzie všemu liudu,
> ti budú bydliti s Jůdú:
> to jsú ježto tepú otce,
> neotpuščejí ni matce.[56]

But of greater importance is the fragment of a version which in spite of many parallels with Type RL seems to be derived from a different source.[57] The fragment begins with Judas's flight to Jerusalem after killing his supposed brother, and follows the story through to the end—his friendship with Pilate, the quarrel in the garden, parricide, incest, and final scene of recognition by means of Cyborea's complainings. With regard to the variations Feifalik says:

> At the very beginning of the fragment we find an elaboration which is due to the Czechian poet: Pilate, with Judas and a large retinue, is walking abroad, and catches sight of the enticing fruit in Reuben's garden, while in the other versions he perceives the fruit from a room in his palace. Judas runs his father through with a sword instead of striking him down with a stone. He hears Cyborea often groan in her sleep; and one night when she does this he asks her the reason—whereas usually the scene takes place by day. And there are other variations of the same sort. The poet makes use of a good deal of circumstantial detail, and treats his material quite in the manner of Court Poetry; and therefore I am inclined to look upon his work as an imitation of some still unknown German poem, which he handles, to be sure, with considerable freedom. He shows that he was a man of some training and education. His verse and rhyme are pure and artistic. He is especially fond of interrupting the course of his story with occasional moral reflections. He displays a warm patriotism at the beginning, where, after relating the murder of the prince by Judas, he introduces a touching elegy on the violent death of the last of the Přemyslids in Bohemia, Wenzel III, at Olmütz,

---

[56] *Výbor*, II, p. 237, 19-22; Feifalik, n. 28.

[57] First printed in *Čas. česk. mus.*, 1829, III, pp. 58-63; then *Výbor*, I, pp. 169-74. Cf. Nebeský, *Čas. česk. mus.*, 1847, I, pp. 11-22.

August 4, 1306. The poem was composed presumably soon after the death of Wenzel.[58]

It seems fair to assume that the poet, writing on such an occasion, would not make use of a legend entirely unknown to his readers or hearers; and we are therefore justified in believing that the legend had reached Bohemia as early as the end of the thirteenth century. Nothing further is certain. It is of course possible, as Feifalik suggests, that the poet had a German original, but none has been found; and it is also possible—a bit more likely, perhaps—that he may have heard in some indistinct way the general outline of the Judas story and then expanded it, filling in details according to his own fancy. Probable it is, at any rate, that his remote source was from the West of Europe, since his nomenclature and details are all nearer the thirteenth-century Latin versions than the earliest Latin or the Greek versions. That both the Latin redactors and the Bohemian poet drew from a common earlier account is hardly to be supposed. Not only is the poem too late, but the divergencies are scarcely of such a nature as to warrant that hypothesis. I am inclined to attribute these differences to the poet's invention, or still more probably, to the vagaries of uncertain transmission.

Russian and Bulgarian. So far as can be ascertained, all the Slavic texts (except the Bohemian) in which the legend of Judas appears are very late; but, on the other hand, those texts represent quite clearly material which is much earlier in origin, and the six versions of the legend which are known are more or less direct translations from the *Legenda Aurea*. Doubtless the legend is more widespread in eastern Europe than we have now means of de-

[58] Feifalik, p. 87. Cf. *Výbor*, I, p. 169, 16 ff.

monstrating; popular versions are said to exist to-day in Galicia, and probably in other portions of Russia, but researches have not been made or recorded. The popularity of the *Legenda Aurea* moved eastward slowly, and with it the legend of Judas; but in eastern Europe it has remained later, as one would expect.

The versions thus far discovered are:[59] (1) a version reported by Kostomarov first in Современникъ, 1860, vol. III, and then in Историческихъ монографіяхъ, Спб. 1863, I, pp. 349 ff.; (2) a text discovered by Ivan Franko in Galicia in eighteenth-century writing and published by Dragomanov in his article Славянскитѣ прѣправки на Едиповата история (Сборникъ за народни умотворения кн. VI); (3) in a manuscript (no. 1598, fol. 132-6) of the Pogodin collection in the Imperial Public Library; (4) ms. 1936 of the Pogodin collection, an abbreviated form of no. 1598; (5) a version published by Bezsonov (Калѣки перехожіе, 4th ed., Part II); (6) a legend, like Pogodin 1598, attributed to Hieronymus, from the Solovki Library (240, fol. 238-40, seventeenth century) found in the *Passion of Our Lord* and in the *Great Mirror,* and published, from the *Mirror* by Profiriev, Апокрифич. сказанія о новозавѣтн. лицахъ и событіяхъ, стр. 231-5.

These various texts represent substantially the same version, that of the *Legenda Aurea,* with certain divergencies in detail which are of minor consequence. Grabovski believed that the Franko text represented the original Slavic redaction and was at the same time a translation from a Byzantine text; but since Istrin published the Greek texts

[59] Cf. Istrin, *op. cit.*, Diederichs, *Russische Verwandte der Legende von Gregor auf dem Stein und der Sage von Judas Ischariot* in *Russische Revue,* XVII (1880), pp. 119 ff., and Solovev, Къ легендамъ объ Іудѣ Предателѣ, Харьковъ, 1895, p. 177. No. (3) is printed by Solovev, pp. 187-90.

this opinion has been proved wrong, inasmuch as in the latter the mother of Judas is not named, and Циворія could only have come from the Latin. The fact that in some versions Hieronymus is given as the author must be ascribed to the general tendency to attribute such legends to well-known names; or to a scribal error, since Hieronymus is mentioned in the first lines of the *Legenda Aurea* version; or perhaps to a combination of these two causes. That in the Franko and Pogodin texts "О немъже пишется да будетъ Данъ зъмия на роспутіи от коего колена имать наподитися антихртъ"[60] is added after the descent of Judas from Dan is given, that is, the figure of Judas-Antichrist is introduced, would point to a later date for these texts; this addition being of the nature of an interpolated commentary or gloss (perhaps in the text from which the Franko and Pogodin copies were made). Istrin suggests that it may have been from "Откровеніе Меѳодія Патарскаго." It is of some interest, further, that in the *Passion* and in the legends published by Bezsonov and by Porfiriev (the Solovki text) the moralizing that closes the *Legenda Aurea* version occurs, while the Franko and Pogodin texts end with the end of the legend. The Solovki and Bezsonov texts close with a final benediction: "But all of us who read and hear this horrible tale of the life and deeds of such an evil being may Christ our God preserve, and

[60] Istrin, p. 607. The same passage in a slightly different form occurs in the Kostomarov text, which Diederichs translates: 'Nicht umsonst wird geschrieben in dem Buche Genesis: es soll sein Dan eine Schlange am Scheidewege. Dies bedeutet, dass aus dem Stamme Dan zu seiner Zeit der Antichrist geboren wird.' "Die letzten Worte," adds Diederichs, "enthalten die seit der Schrift des Hippolytus über den Antichrist angenommene Deutung der Worte Jacobs in dem Segen, den er vor seinem Tode u. a. auch dem Dan ertheilte, hier machen sie übrigens, unvermittelt mit dem Zusammenhang, den Eindruck, als wären sie eine gegen das vorhergehende gerichtete Randbemerkung, die sich in den Text eingedrängt hat" (p. 122).

make us worthy of Thy heavenly kingdom with Thy Father and the Holy Ghost for ever."

CONCLUSION. It is rather striking that the three earliest vernacular versions, which may be dated at the end of the thirteenth century, are the Bohemian, the Welsh, and the Catalan, almost at the very extremes of the legend's territory. That the first English, French, and German versions should be in verse is not remarkable; though it is interesting to see that the four English poems represent different dialects. Nor is it surprising that we find the story in such legendaries as the *Passional,* the *Seelen Trost,* or the Italian and Old Swedish collections. But on the other hand certain absences are remarkable. There is no evidence that the legend found a place in any of the cycles of English mysteries, except the Towneley, where it was a kind of appendix or optional insert, not a part of the play; it never occurs in the mediæval German drama, although in certain plays the Biblical rôle of Judas was considerably developed. In Greban's *Passion* it appears only *en passant* in a single speech; there is no suggestion of it in the final scene of Judas's despair and suicide, where it might have been used to great artistic effect. Only in the great work of Jehan Michel does it receive any dramatic attention or appear to be a part of the performance; here at the close of the Middle Ages only do we meet with an unmistakable indication of its popularity. Its appearance in some of the great legendaries implies little; but when we discover separate redactions of it, in verse, as in England and France, or in prose, as in France and Russia, for example; or find it used apparently as a part of the materials on which a poet can draw for emotional effect; then we cannot be wrong in maintaining that the legend had become truly and indisputably popular in both senses of the term.

Post-Mediæval Versions

"La légende de Judas," says the Comte de Douhet, "est un des précieux monuments populaires que nous a légués le moyen âge." [1] A late version of it is printed in the *Bibliothèque Bleue,* and it still is found "dans les boîtes des colporteurs pour défrayer les assemblées de nos campagnards dans les longues soirées d'hiver." Douhet prints it under the title: *Vie de Judas Iscarioth, qui vendit Notre-Seigneur.* This version follows the Latin Type RL, but with considerable expansions, chiefly in the manner of the late fifteenth-century French prose version. The most interesting elaboration is after the parricide. Borée (Ciborea) comes into the garden, discovers her dead husband and his slayer, and goes directly to Pilate to lodge a complaint. But Pilate pays very little attention to her. He has Judas called, and hears his confession; but Judas avers that Reuben began the quarrel. Finally Pilate says to Borée: "Come here. There is no use weeping, for the thing is done and cannot be mended. But I will do something for you—provide you with a husband. Marry my servant here, a good and honorable man, Judas." "I would not do it for all the world," responds Borée. "If you will not," says Pilate, "then be gone, for I am busy." Borée departs; and Judas and Pilate take counsel together on the financial advantages of the marriage. Borée is recalled. After Pilate has pronounced a short eulogy on Judas, she says: "Sir, your will be done." [2]

D'Ancona mentions a poetic version, in a rather turgid

[1] *Dictionnaire des légendes du Christianisme,* Migne, 1855, col. 714.

[2] J. Collin de Plancy, *Légendes du Nouveau Testament,* Paris, 1863, pp. 232 ff., repeats the usual legend, without indicating his source, but introduces after Judas's flight from Scariot the biting incident told in the *Evangelium Infantiæ Arabicum,* cap. XXXV.

style, printed at Lucca in 1807, entitled: *Nascita, vita, e morte disperata di Giuda Iscariotte, poeticamente descritta dal signor Nibegno Roclami romano.* The first stanza runs:

> Non più d' armi d' Eroi, d' amor, di sdegni,
> Non più d'imprese egregie e generose,
> Non più d'illustri e memorandi ingegni,
> Musa, non più cantar gesta gloriose;
> Ma del re degli iniqui, infami e indegni
> Descrivi i sensi e l'opre obbrobriose;
> Questi fu l'empio Giuda, il più nefando
> Di tutti i traditori, il più esecrando.[3]

Sig. D. Bergamaschi in his *Giuda Iscariota, nella leggenda, nelle tradizioni e nella Bibbia,*[4] a rather hasty and very incomplete work, recounts a version of the legend without indicating its date or source. The version appears, however, to be late, as though taken perhaps from an Italian chap-book.

The infant Judas was set adrift in a *cestella* on the River Jordan, and after being carried down to the Mediterranean finally reached the island of Candia. Here a king saw and rescued him; and, since his clothing showed him to be a Jew, called him Judas. The king had a son who was one year older than Judas. The latent wickedness of the foundling soon broke out; he stole money and articles of value, until finally he was observed by the king's son and his thefts revealed. The king had him flogged, and then disclosed to him his irregular origin. Judas thereupon killed his putative brother, fled to Egypt and then to Jerusalem, and entered the service of a *gran signore.*

---

[3] D'Ancona, Introd., p. 97, and n. 2.

[4] *La Scuola Cattolica,* Anno 37, Serie IV, vol. XV (1909), pp. 292 ff. —Ms. It. V. 38 of the year 1560 (*Catalogi dei Codici Marciani Italiani,* II, Modena, 1911) contains a collection of *Vite di molti Heresiarchi,* beginning with that of Judas: "gelano per l'horrere gl' inchiostri al nome abhoribile di Giuda." This is probably the usual legend; I have been unable to see it. What is probably another version is mentioned in *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia,* XVI, p. 184, no. 126: "Segni Cativi di Giuda Scariotto," Stanza di endecasillabi in ottava rima. Sec. XVII.

One day his master asked him to fetch some apples from a certain orchard, and in doing this Judas met, quarreled with, and slew his father. The widow of the murdered man prosecuted Judas, and the judgment against him read that he must either lose his life or marry the widow. He chose the latter alternative. "Fu chiamato Iscariota, cioè asino, et visse a lungo con sua madre." At length his mother recognized him as her son by "due dita del piede attacate": he repented his sin, became a disciple of Jesus, betrayed Him, suffered remorse, and hanged himself.

This version seems clearly to be based directly on no mediæval form of the legend that we have yet found. The island is Candia, the rescuing personage a king, the son is older, etc. No names are offered, but there is a new explanation of the cognomen 'Iscariot.' A modern motif is the widow's legal prosecution, while the method of recognition suggests the story of Œdipus. It looks as if the legend had been handed down orally, not by the written word. The outline remained, but the geography underwent a change, and the incident of the brother received a greater emphasis, with concomitant variations.

Turning from this evidently popular version, we find the legend in Spain dressed in the robes of formal drama by Antonio Zamora, who flourished about 1730.[5] On the whole the play is a dull performance, divided into three "jornadas," and enlivened somewhat with music. The essential features of the legend are preserved. The first act opens with "Musica, y salen Ciborea con el lienzo en los ojos. Teuca, Saray, Abrà, y Rubèn, todos à lo Judio." When the others are gone Ciborea reveals to her husband the prophetic dream concerning Judas. Reuben is sent for by Pilate. Then Judas and a band of youths enter and in a long speech he is informed that he is not the real brother of the prince; whereupon, in a fit of anger, he kills the

[5] *Comedias de Don Antonio de Zamora, Gentil-hombre*, Madrid, 1744, I, pp. 277-327.

prince. During the following scene, between Pilate and Reuben, Judas re-enters and applies to Pilate for a position. Pilate calls him familiarly a "joven gallardo"; the conversation turns upon Christ, and in a speech of nearly 300 lines Judas narrates the preaching of John and the birth of Jesus. Pilate is much pleased by this discourse, and engages him forthwith. The second act begins with a lively scene in which "Salen Judas, Barrabàs, Teutila, y Lebròn con una escala." They hoist their ladder against the wall, Judas delivers a lyrical address to the garden behind, and disappears just as the barking of a dog warns Reuben of the intruder. Reuben comes forward "à medio vestir," Judas returns with some fruit in a handkerchief; they quarrel, and Reuben is killed. Pilate then marries Judas and Ciborea; the crime of incest is revealed, and penitence undertaken. At the opening of Act III Judas is a favorite apostle, "no mucho menos que Juan." But to reimburse his loss after Magdalen's extravagance he sells Christ to the Jews. All his friends turn against him. Finally we hear his mother, whom he calls "causa de mios infortunios," exhort him to renewed repentance. But he refuses consolation, and withdraws to hang himself.

Here, as in the *mystère* of Greban, there is a certain pathos and dignity in Judas's final despair and suicide. The great finale of the play is almost impressive. By a felicitous suggestion of the author we are made to feel that the earthquake and darkness which attend the death of Christ accompany also the suicide of Judas. But these more than Œdipodean crimes of Judas occupy two-thirds of a comedy that is truly "too full of horrors to be amusing"; and by a kind of poetic justice Zamora's drama has won for itself an undisturbed oblivion in which to bury its faults. Whether the legend was known in Spain among

the folk we do not know. Zamora's source was doubtless literary.

A man truly of the Middle Ages but a late comer was Abraham a Sancta Clara (1644-1709). Besides separate sermons, he published upwards of twenty works, some of which were reissued after his death. His most popular work seems to have been his *Judas*, which is entitled:

JUDAS, der Ertz-Schelm, für ehrliche Leuth, oder: Eigentlicher Entwurff und Lebens-Beschreibung dess *Iscariot*ischen Bösswicht. Worinnen underschiedliche *Discurs*, sittliche Lehrs-Puncten, Gedicht und Geschicht, auch sehr reicher Vorrath Biblischer *Concept*en. Welche nit allein einem Prediger auff der Cantzel sehr dienlich fallen, der jetzigen verkehrten, bethörrten, versehrten Welt die Warheit under die Nasen zu reiben: sondern es kan auch dessen ein *Privat*- und einsamber Leser zur erspriesslichen Zeit-Vertreibung und gewünschten Seelen-Hayl gebrauchen.

This *magnum opus* appeared in four quarto volumes, issued separately at Salzburg, the first in 1686, the second in 1689, the third in 1692, the fourth in 1695.[6] Abraham does not, to be sure, stick very close to his text, which is the life of Judas. At the end of the third volume Judas is put to death, but the fourth goes on well enough without him. As the title indicates, the story is much overlaid with sermonizing and moral discoursing, in about the proportion of one part Judas to, say, twenty of Abraham. His chief source was, according to his own statement, Jacopo da Voragine; but for his commentations he cited abundantly most of the scholars of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the early Fathers, the *Acta Sanctorum*,

[6] Each volume was reprinted several times, the first, *e. g.*, Salzburg and Lucern, 1686, Bonn 1687, Zug 1687, Salzburg 1688, 1689, 1691, etc. The complete work was printed in Salzburg 1695-6 and 1709; Nürnberg 1718; abbreviated Vienna 1729, Nürnberg 1752; Celle 1831; an 'adapted' version Vienna 1833; and in the *Works* Vienna 1826-34, Passau 1835-46, Lindau 1850. Cf. the *Auswahl* edited by F. Bobertag in Kürschner's Deutsche National-Litteratur, p. iv.

and various Annals and Chronicles. How many of these citations were from an immediate knowledge of the original one cannot quite say, but a large number of them were doubtless made second-hand; and when a learned name was not conveniently available Abraham drew on his imagination. For the early life of Judas Abraham followed the *Legenda Aurea* very closely; and in no point do his alterations betray acquaintance with any other source. His divergencies are such as one would expect from the author. Thus he declares that the married life of Judas's parents was unhappy, and makes this his point of departure for a long discourse (above forty pages) on conjugal infelicity. He intercalates a whole chapter on " Ob Judas der Ertz-Schelm einen roten Barth habe gehabt, und was Leibs-Gestalt er gewesen seye." He admits unimportant variations into the account of what passed between Judas and Pilate after the murder of Reuben. The legend itself, however, is only a portion of Abraham's *Judas*. The Biblical part of the story is considerably elaborated and enlivened by the importation of uncanonical details, in addition to the Abrahamitic moralizings. For example, Abraham remarks, keenly enough, that the mere fact none of the apostles suspected Judas of theft shows what a sly thief he was. After the actual betrayal, adds Abraham, Judas could not speak the name of Jesus, since he was utterly in Satan's power. On the other hand, Abraham made one rather notable departure from his source: the reflections on Judas's death as contained in Type L he eschewed altogether, and set in their place the early Eastern legend of the decay of Judas's body and the unendurable stench therefrom.[7]

[7] For the story of Judas's elephantiasis cf. Œcumenius on *Acts* 1 (M. S. G. 118, 57-9), and Boissonade, *Anecdota Græca*, II, pp. 464-5.

Each incident of the apocryphal life of Judas serves as a text for the author's moral observations and discourses, "Gedicht und Geschicht"; and while accordingly Abraham's work is an important item in the post-mediæval history of the legend, it cannot be considered as quite independent testimony of the legend's popularity in Germany at the close of the seventeenth century. For the sort of preaching that Abraham represents, nothing is more useful than a palpable point of departure for inveighing against sinners, to paint in the brightest colors their evil ways and consequent damnation; and for this purpose no figure is better adapted than Judas. Abraham, as a man of wide reading, of mediæval temperament, and unscrupulous credulity, naturally made use of the Judas legend. Thereby the legend received a kind of artificial popularity and extension; but in the success of the book as a whole the honors must be divided between Abraham and Judas, in just what proportion no one can say.

Either the mediæval legend of Judas enjoyed a greater posthumous popularity in England than elsewhere, or fortune has been more generous in preserving us English specimens of its later development. At any rate, *lives* of Judas, based on the legend, were printed in Great Britain down to the year of Grace 1828, in five separate versions, some of which went through several editions. This is a record of which the legend—and England!—may well be proud.

The earliest of these versions that I have found is the *Life, Character, and Death* of Judas, whose third edition appeared in 1724. The burst of popularity is distinctly an eighteenth-century matter; excepting the addition to the Towneley mystery, which dates very early in the sixteenth century, the legend appears to have suffered a two-

hundred years' eclipse, but when the light came again it came with splendour.

'The *Life, Character* and *Death* of *Judas Iscariot,* that Traytor who betray'd our Blessed *Lord* and *Saviour Jesus Christ.* Giving a Full and True *Account* Of the whole Course Of that *False Disciple's* Actions from his Birth, to his accursed and untimely Death. The third Edition. Licensed and Enter'd according to Act of *Parliament. London.* Printed by *A. Smith* in *Pye-Corner,* 1724.' This work is unusually long, but so far as I can learn no complete copy of it exists. It begins:

"*Judas Iscariot* was descended from one *Simon* a Tanner, living near *Joppa,* a noted Sea-port Town in *Palestine,* now in possession of the barbarous and inhumane Turks. Before his good and pious Mother, for he came of Virtuous Parents, brought him into the World, being one Night very restless, she at last fell to sleep, and dream'd that the Child she then went with, would prove to her great Grief and Sorrow, both a Thief and a Murderer: So awaking very much affrighted, she grew thereupon very melancholly; and being greatly disturb'd in Mind, she was studying and contriving Night and Day what way she might prevent the *Odium* and *Scandal* which seemed to fall upon her family by the Production of this Birth." At last she was "through God's great Mercy, safely deliver'd of a lovely Boy," but "he had a strange sort of Mark upon his left side; for under his Breast, *as several Authors writes,* was a *Cross, a Gallows, Money* and 2 *Daggers.*" These signs were (naturally enough) the "wonder and admiration of all who beheld them: but to the mother they were a source of great anxiety. When the child was eight days old he was circumcised and given the name of *Judas:* and on this occasion a great celebration was instituted, with "a vast Number of Spectators" and a four days' "Entertainment." After this the mother became more and more anxious and finally resolved to consult a magician. The séance is given in considerable detail. During the course of it the whole life of Judas was forecast. The mother fell in a swoon. Then she and the magician began plans to be rid of the child. With the aid of "one *Rota* a cunning Artist in such Affairs" they constructed "by stealth" and according to "the Form of the Watry Mansions" a "bark," "or rather Box as some may call it." Everything was managed with the greatest secrecy, and without the knowledge of the boy's father. Elaborate pains were taken to conceal the

plan and its execution, and that everything might work smoothly a dead baby was procured from a kinswoman of the mother.—After the plan is described at great length, its working is retold. A whole page is devoted to the maternal lamentations when finally the child is set adrift with "*Judas*" on a bit of parchment "ty'd round his Neck," and we are not spared the father's grief as well—"But now let's see what is become of young *Judas* indeed." The "Bark or Boat" was "driving along the Coast called *Iscariot*, where there was a mighty Rock, on which *Theophilus*, the king of that great Country, used to recreate himself." From his rock the king caught sight of the bark and ordered it brought ashore. He perceived that it was a "very fine child," called him Judas Iscariot, and "took all the tender Care imaginable of him." On "coming to Mans Estate, Judas was made one of the Kings Council, besides having other great Dignities and Offices bestowed upon him." But "in process of Time" he quarrelled with the king's son and killed him. He then escaped in the guise of a servant; came to Joppa, which was his birthplace; found a place in a Gentleman's House, and did very well there. One day his Mistress, who was with child, being "out to take the air," saw some fruit that she liked and gave Judas money with which to buy it. Judas, however, kept the money and tried to steal the fruit, and in the combat that ensued killed—his father. A year or two afterwards he returned in disguise, "and being a very handsome young Man, his own Mother, not knowing him to be her Son, fell in Love with him, and in a very short time married him." After they had lived together some time his mother discovered the birthmarks. By her "persuasion" he went to Jesus, and became an apostle.—The Last Supper and the meeting and kiss in the Garden of Olives are then briefly told. (The remainder of the book is lacking.)

Closely related to this and in all likelihood based upon it are: '*The lost and Undone Son of Perdition; or the Life and Death of Judas Iscariot.* London. Printed for Andrew Hambleton, 1784,' comprising 16 duodecimo pages, and '*The Lost and undone Son of Perdition; or the Life and Character of Judas Sirnamed Iscariot;* But known to us by the Name of *Judas* the *Traytor,* who betrayed Christ our Lord and Saviour. . . . [here 12 verses in heroic couplets] Faithfully collected from several ancient Authors of undoubted credit. London. Printed and sold by L. How, in Petticoat-Lane near

White-Chapel.' Though varying in details the story in both is essentially the same as in the *Life, Character and Death.*

Dependent in part upon the L. How *Lost and undone Son* is 'The lost and undone Son of Perdition; or the Birth, Life, and Character of Judas Iscariot, Faithfully collected from several ancient Authors of undoubted credit. By J. Thompson, Boston. New England: Printed in the Year M, DCC, LXV.'[8] The first few sentences of this are identical with those of the *Lost and undone Son* printed by How, but the author, Thompson, soon begins to abbreviate and gradually works away from his original.

When Theophilus from his mountain discerned the chest floating on the sea, he and his nobles cast lots to see who should have the treasure. Judas afterwards killed the king's son solely in order that he might himself inherit the throne; then he fled "to *Theba*, seventy six leagues Westward, a City in *Idumae*, where he continued for the space of four Years and upwards." He returned to Joppa, changed his name, lived for some time in a nobleman's family, until at length his mother, being a widow, saw him and fell in love with him. Five years they lived together before his mother recognized her son (by his birth mark). In disgust she turned him off and bade him repent of his many sins. Thereafter he wandered from place to place nearly starved and in great despair. "One day he laid down under the Shade of a Sycamore Tree, in a desert Place, there thinking to end his miserable Life," but he fell asleep, and was directed by a Voice to go down to the River Jordan. Here he met the same old magician whom his mother had consulted at his birth. The magician drew from him his story and suggested his mending his fortune by seeking "an extraordinary Person now on Earth, and not a great way off, he was born in *Bethlehem-Judae*, his name is *Jesus*. . . . Judas heard all and apprehended something, but comprehended nothing." Hearing of the miracles of Jesus, he was especially attracted by that of the Loaves and Fishes. He remained about a week with the magician, then set out toward Samaria and found Jesus at Jacob's

[8] The Boston Public Library has also a copy of a later edition, Boston, 1771.

Well. Jesus knew him to be the son of perdition but accepted him "that the Scripture might be fulfilled—[To which we refer our Reader for the Remainder of Judas's Life]." Thompson makes no mention of a source; his alterations of the usual tale, which are considerable, we may assume to be his own.

Very similar to Hambleton's 1784 version of the *Lost and Undone Son* are two chap-books printed, one at Wotton-Underedge, 1790, the other at London. These make a special point of the fatalism in the life of Judas—

> In *Judas* here we plainly see,
> 'Tis vain to strive 'gainst *Fate*,
> For its Decrees shall surely be
> Fulfilled soon or late.

Close, again, to Hambleton's versions is 'The Life and Death of Judas Iscariot, or the Lost and undone Son of Perdition. Glasgow. Printed for the Book-sellers.' The British Museum has two copies of this work dated 1828; the Harvard Library copy is undated.[9] In this Glasgow edition, and in the London edition not printed by How, King Theophilus is printed as King Pheophilus. There are certain small omissions and interpolations, and doggerel is introduced; but in many places the wording is identical. Now and then an effort is made to correct and improve the style.

It is rather difficult to explain the alterations which the mediæval legend has here undergone except as a conscious endeavor for greater verisimilitude, a desire to make a 'better story of it.' Such an explanation, however, leaves a good deal to be desired, leaves, in truth, a good deal unexplained. One thing to be noted is the change from the queen rescuer to the king; this already appeared

[9] Reprinted by Cheap in *The Chapmans' Library: The Scottish Chap Literature of the Last Century Classified.* Glasgow, 1877, vol. II.

in the Dutch version and was remarked by de Vooys. Doubtless if we had the chain of evidence complete—for it is not to be thought that the legend was entirely lost during its centuries of eclipse—from say 1500 to 1700 many other changes could be accounted for in the gradual shiftings of emphasis and substitution of details which would be the natural result of irregular, oral transmission.

The story of Judas enjoyed the further distinction of ballad form. In the *Roxburghe Ballads,* we find *The Dream of Judas' Mother Fulfilled, Together with his sinful Life and deserved destruction,* in eighteen stanzas, to the tune of "Christ is my Love." [10]

> Who that antique story reads,
> and ancient tales of old:
> a notable strange tragedy
> to you I will unfold;
> of that Judas Iscariot
> who did our Savior sell,
> and did betray him with a kiss,
> to haste himself to hell.

In certain details this ballad is a closer return to the mediæval legend than any of the modern English versions, and shows even an earlier simplicity than many of the Latin versions. The manner of the exposure distinctly suggests Moses; the picture on the other hand of Pilate riding through his land "on his sport and his play" suggests the Bohemian version.

A more pretentious if not more popular rendering than any of the preceding is 'The Unhappy Birth, wicked Life, and miserable Death of that vile Traytor and Apostle, *Judas Iscariot,* who for Thirty-Pieces of Silver betray'd his Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST. Shewing:

[10] Folio Edition, III, ii, p. 737. The estimated date in the British Museum catalogue is: ? London, 1730.

[here the story is outlined under VI topics.] To which is added, a Short RELATION of the Sufferings of our BLESSED REDEEMER. Also the *Life* and Miserable *Death* of *Pontius Pilate,* who condemn'd the Lord of Life to Death. Being collected from the Writings of Josephus Sozomenus, and other Ecclesiastical Historians. Durham. Printed and Sold by Isaac Lane.' This is without date, but probably is about 1750. Another edition, likewise in twelves, was printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. ? 1760. On the verso of the title page is a "To the Reader" of four six-line stanzas, in which the story is epitomized, signed "T. G." Two later editions, in eights, lacking this signature were printed at Birmingham, one in 1793, the other in ? 1815. The "History" is divided into six chapters. The story is told with much circumstantial detail and with a considerable attempt at color and picturesqueness.[11]

The most elaborate form that the legend of Judas enjoyed during its chap-book period is the version in heroic couplets by Thomas Gent. This was printed at York in 1772, but claims on the title page to have been "Originally written in *London* at the age of 18." Inasmuch as Gent was born in 1693, and there is no reason to question the accuracy of his statement, his 'Judas Iscariot' must have been composed in 1711. Thomas Gent was a printer of chap-books in London and York, a man of interesting character and rather notable literary activity, and for a man of his position his learning was remarkably extensive if not very profound.[12] His life of Judas is

[11] It is probably this version which was referred to by Adin Williams, F. R. H. S. as 'The Birth, Life, and Death of Judas and the Life and Miserable Death of Pilate' in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, III, p. 388.

[12] Cf. *Yorkshire Chap-books*, ed. by C. A. Federer, London, 1889, pp. 10-23.

entitled: 'Divine Justice and Mercy Displayed. Set forth in the unhappy Birth, wicked Life, and miserable End of that deceitful Apostle, JUDAS ISCARIOT; Who for thirty Pieces of Silver, betrayed and sold his *Lord* and *Master* JESUS CHRIST. Shewing, [here the story is outlined in six divisions]. With Meditations on the Life and Death of our B. Saviour.' The whole poem is divided into six chapters, which do not, however, exactly coincide with the six divisions on the title page. The first lines of "Chap. I" will illustrate the author's style and manner.

> THAT, by the Means of *JUDAS*, CHRIST was slain,
> The *Sacred WRITINGS* tell us very plain;
> But no where shews his ill fore-boding Birth,
> Who prov'd the saddest Wretch upon the Earth!
> My present Task, far as TRADITION'S Truth,
> Shall be improving LINES, begun in YOUTH;
> From various Authors; who the Mind engage,
> By Heaven inspir'd, and known from Age to Age.
> Cœlestial SENSE is best, right understood;
> But, next, undoubted TESTIMONY'S good;
> From whence bright Knowledge, like fair Rivers flow;
> Or Dews, from HIGH, refreshing ALL below.
> So 'twas of old, the *SACRIFICE* divine;
> The *EUCHARIST*, in *Holy Bread* and *Wine*,
> Was fair display'd, as what the CHURCH should deck,
> By Sanction's Pow'r, thro' King MELCHIZEDEK.
> An INSTITUTION, lastingly remember'd,
> *CHRIST'S* nat'ral BODY on the Cross so render'd;
> Held, by the LEARNED, constantly to prove.
> Appeasing *Anger*, and obtaining *LOVE!*
> But *Judas'* Name, that bears the sad Transgression,
> Derived is from *Praise*, and *true Confession*.
> PERSONS, so-styl'd, gave Rise to HISTORY:
> From whom I'll mention which of them was He.

Judas's mother was named Berenice, his father Simon; the monarch who "on fam'd Iscariot's coast" saw the infant Judas floating by, "And, wond'ring at the Navigator, gaz'd!" was named Valerius; and the story pro-

ceeds as in the *Unhappy Birth* but with a considerable admixture of classical allusion and neo-classic poetical adornment.

The similarities between this work of Gent and the *Unhappy Birth* are striking. Of the latter no edition is known to me earlier than about 1750, whereas Gent professes to be revamping a poem he had composed as early as 1711. Verbal parallels are comparatively infrequent, and on the whole are such as would be likely in any two versions of the same story. But the most remarkable point is the appearance of Gent's *To the Reader* (omitting the last stanza, which would probably be one of the later 'improvements') in two editions of the *Unhappy Birth,* one at Durham, the other at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but signed only "T. G.", and of the same *To the Reader* in two later editions without even the initials. Admitting that demonstration is quite impossible, I incline to the opinion that the *Unhappy Birth* was taken, at least in part, from Gent's early unpublished poem, and taken perhaps without the author's consent.

Another version, which rests upon a somewhat different tradition, is entitled:

A Full and True Account of the Birth, Life, and Death, of JUDAS ISCARIOT; who was the Son of *Simon*, and of the Tribe and Lineage of *Benjamin*. Shewing how his Mother was foretold by a dream that she would bear a Son that would betray the Saviour of the World; how his Father thought to prevent it, by putting him in a small Boat, and committing him to the Seas; how he was found by some Fishermen that belonged to the Island of Iscariot, how a Prince brought him up, and made him his Son's Companion; how he treacherously drowned the Prince's Son, and for fear of discovery fled to the Land of Canaan, where he killed his own Father, and married his Mother; afterwards betrayed our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; last of all, how he hanged himself, and his Bowels gushed out. Glascow. Printed and Sold by J. & J. Robertson. M,DCC,LXXVI.

Here the rescue by fishermen suggests Gregory again. On

the whole the narrative is smooth and at times vivid. The final paragraph offers a fresh variation of the old theme, viz.: "It is known when a malefactor commits high treason against the king, that ten executioners rips open his belly, and takes out his heart, and holds it in his hand, in view of all the spectators, crying, There behold the heart of a traitor: And for Judas who was a traitor to the King of kings, it was no wonder that the seam of his belly did burst asunder: that all who passed by might behold his treacherous heart."

At length, in the nineteenth century, the legend reappears in Wales. The little pamphlet of sixteen duodecimo pages is entitled: "Hanes bywyd a marwolaeth Judas Iscariot. Cyfieithiad o'r Saes'neg. Allan o'r 12fed argraffiad. Trefriw," [?1825]. The title page is undated, but contains, written in ink, the name of *Ed. Robert,* with the date October 10, 1826. If we are to believe this translator the legend had a greater vogue in England than we had supposed, for he is here translating from the *twelfth edition.* No English version that we know had such a success. Or perhaps this is a species of Welsh advertisement. At any rate the translation is evidently of the *Life, Character and Death,* which enjoyed a third edition in 1724, and was imitated by the *Lost and undone Son of Perdition,* which itself ran through several editions in England, Scotland, and America. If the *Life, Character and Death* had reached a third edition in 1724 it may well have gone onwards to a twelfth a hundred years later. Which would make it easily the best-seller and most popular of all the legend's modern renderings. In the Welsh the father's name is not "one Simon, a tanner," but simply Simon Barcer—the trade became the surname. To the English version the translation adds one supplementary detail: the "bark or rather box" in which Judas was set

adrift was lined with *oilcloth*—and the translator was careful to insert the English word in parenthesis into his text.[13]

Coeval with the Renaissance of the Judas legend in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we find a similar revival in the Scandinavian countries. Rasmus Nyerup[14] mentions a Danish chap-book containing a *Historie om Judas* with the following title: 'En kort og mærkelig Historie om den slemme og forgiftige Forræder Judas, hans Afkom Fødsel og Levnet og hvad Synder han haver bedrevet i denne Verden fra hans Opvæxt indtil han blev Christi Apostel.' Nyerup merely gives in a few words the story of fratricide, parricide, and incest, "ligesom Oedip"; and adds: "At denne Legende, som man ogsaa finder hos det 14de Seculi Skribent Matthæus Westmonast (*edit. Francof.* 1601, *pag.* 47-48), i det 17de Aarhundrede har været oversat paa Dansk. sees deraf, at den omtales i Peder Syvs danske Boglade. Han giver den det Skiudsmaal, og det med Føje, at den indeholder mange Urimeligheder." There is another Danish chap-book, presumably the same version, with the

[13] The Catalogue (1898) of the Cardiff Free Libraries mentions three other 'editions': Shrewsbury, ca. 1750, Merthyr, 1812, Aberdare, 1879.—In *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, VII, p. 455 another English version is mentioned 'The Arch Knave, or the History of Judas from the Cradle to the Gallows. Compiled and translated from the High Dutch of S. Clare and the Spanish of Don H. de Mendoza. London: printed by J. Morphew.' Pp. 56. n. d. This "describes how Judas, when a boy, robbed hen roosts, and laid poison for his schoolmaster, &c." There is no Judas legend in Mendoza. —In *An Awakening Call to Great Britain* a *Judas Iscariot* is advertized among the Penny Books printed and sold by Wm. Dicey in Bow Church-Yard.

[14] *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder.* Kjøbenhavn, 1816, pp. 178-9.

following title: 'En ret mærkværdig Historie om den onde Forræder Judas, hvori hans Herkomst, Fødsel, hele Levnet, samt meget grove Synder allerede fra Barndommen, af, indtil han blev Christi Discipel, paa det omstændeligste beskrives. Kjøbenhavn. [N. D.] Tilkjsbs i store Helliggejststræde No. 150 og. 51.' Like *The Unhappy Birth* in English it is divided into chapters, but beyond its telling substantially the same story there is no apparent relation between them. What its source was I am unable to say. In outline it follows the usual version of the legend represented by the Latin Type RL, and would seem to be a general expansion of the mediæval legend; but there is no indication that it was made immediately from a Latin text, possibly via Westmonast, mentioned by Nyerup.

Bäckström says: "Den svenska folkboken är tvifelsutan en öfversättning från den danska."[15] The Swedish recorded editions of the legend are far more numerous than the Danish. Bäckström gives eleven titles, dating from 1740 to 1836, a whole century.[16] Three of these I have seen; and in spite of varying titles they are identical in text. Bäckström prints a slightly different text, without indicating which he has chosen; if the Swedish versions are translated from the Danish—which is altogether possible—the Bäckström text would represent merely a different translation of the same original, provided both translations were quite literal. Moreover, these two translations, if we may call them so, agree in such a general way with the Danish version second-mentioned that one would be tempted to assume at once, especially in view of

[15] *Svenska Folkböcker*, II, p. 198, Stockholm, 1848.

[16] A German translation by K. Tamms from an 1833 edition appeared in *Germania*, VI (1844), pp. 144 ff.

Bäckström's statement, that our Swedish texts are translated from the Danish; but this cannot be exactly the case, as a single example will show. In commenting finally on the utter sinfulness of Judas and Christ's apparently wasted effort to recover him by making him treasurer of the Apostles the Swedish version of Bäckström says: "Det var med honom, som om man ville taga ett och söka två det hvitt med myckt skurande; ju mera man det skurar, ju svartare blifver det. Så ock Judas: ju mera Herren Jesus lärde" etc. (in the three versions I have seen: "Det war med honom lika som man wille taga et Kohl, och twå det hwitt med mycket skurande och twättande: ju mera man det skurar, ju swartare blifwer det; så war det ock med Judas. Ju mera herren Jesus lärde," etc.; compare with this the close of the Cologne *Seelen Trost, l. c.,* p. 293); whereas our Danish text reads simply: "Judas var og blev et Afikum. Jo mere Christus lærde" etc. Obviously our two Swedish versions (unless indeed they depend one on the other, which is highly improbable because they are so similar) cannot well be derived from the Danish version just described. The alternative possibility, then, is that other Danish versions existed, one of which contained expressly the trope of washing the coal, and this Danish version was based perhaps mediately or immediately on the *Seelen Trost.*

In both the Swedish and Danish text books the name of Judas's mother is Liboria instead of Ciborea; this error may rest on a misprint, as Tamms suggested, or on the misreading of a manuscript. When the queen finds the child in the floating chest still alive— "ty den drunknar icke, som hänga skall"—she cries: "Ack, om jag hade ett sådant piltebarn, af mig födt!", which suggests the Latin Type RL. Judas's humble birth and his evil nature

from the very beginning are here emphasized, so that the murder of his foster brother is somewhat foreshadowed or psychologically motivated. It is not expressly said as in the Latin versions that Pilate and Judas were mutually attracted because of their common wickedness, but simply that they got on well together "ty Pilatus och han voro skälmar och mördare båda två," as in the *Seelen Trost.* The scene of Reuben and Judas in the garden is elaborated with some detail, the father being pictured as a gentle old man; the wife's grief and her appeal to Pilate for justice are given at some length; and the latter's proposal to provide her with a "good" husband is carefully worked up; but beyond the points already mentioned there is nothing to indicate the source of these versions,—unless the closing reflection on the world's ingratitude—"och sa plägar ock verlden ännu i dag löna bevista välgerningar"—be taken as further evidence of their relation with the *Seelen Trost.* Now it is of course by no means impossible, it is even entirely probable, that the mediæval Danish or Swedish translation of the German *Seelen Trost* was the source used by the writer or writers of these chap-books, but the evidence which can be gathered does not seem to warrant more than a suggestion.

A Finnish version of the legend is printed in *Folksagor för Gamla och Unga.* Örebro, 1842. I, pp. 238-51. (Bäckström).

The briefest summary of the foregoing material will suffice. While in a general way intermediate texts to bridge the time between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth-century revival of the legend in England and Sweden may easily be postulated, the most natural hypothesis, in view of the lack of real evidence to the contrary, is that in England at least the transmission of the legend was oral. The variations of the English from the mediæval versions

certainly appear to support such a hypothesis. But it is not impossible that Thomas Gent or some educated printer found the mediæval story in an old book (Caxton's *Golden Legende,* for example) and seeing that it would make good copy—since interest in Judas is perennial—worked it up for a chap-book. It is to be noted that the contemporaneousness of the English and Scandinavian revivals is purely fortuitous; there is not the slightest evidence that points towards borrowing on either side or mutual influence of any sort. The German and Spanish versions are each a kind of literary product and cannot count as evidence of the popularity of the legend. In France its inclusion in the *Bibliothèque Bleue* is pretty definite indication that it reached the folk; in England and Sweden there can be no doubt; in western Russia the evidence is even stronger, for late in the last century versions were taken down from oral delivery.[17]

Origin and Early History of the Legend

Although the investigation of the origins and sources of mediæval legends *en masse* has not gone far enough to warrant a general synthesis at present, still it is possible to say definitely that the Christian legend is not an isolated phenomenon of a few centuries of western Europe; that the same characteristics and the same motifs which appear repeatedly within its boundaries appear also outside its boundaries. Without committing ourselves on the disputed problem of communicated derivation as against the theory of innate ideas to account for the existence of the same tale among the people of far separated lands, we may certainly concede as a fact the so-called migration of motifs. *Some* tales and motifs have moved from place to place; that we can prove.

[17] Cf. Istrin, *op. cit.*

To explain now the origin of the legend of Judas there are two broad possibilities. The first is the reappearance in various countries of the same motifs, whether innate or transmitted; the second is the derivation from a similar legend or story which has taken definite literary form. In the case of a complex of motifs like the legend of Judas, the question of innate ideas can hardly be important. The crux of our present problem is, on the one hand, to show that such motifs existed among the people, no matter how they came to be there; and on the other, to establish a sufficiently clear possibility of literary transmission. In other words, did the Judas legend spring up among the folk from a union of popular motifs, or was it an adaptation of the story of Œdipus as handed down by means of written documents?

Before attacking the problem in detail we may first review briefly the opinions of those scholars who have already investigated either the legend of Judas in particular or the general subject of mediæval tales of incest. The majority follow Greith [1] in believing that the classical story of Œdipus is the root and that the mediæval stories of parricide and incest were its branches. Comparetti [2] and D'Ancona,[3] while they deny any historical relation between the legend of Pope Gregory and the story of Œdipus, hold definitely that the legend of Judas is a direct adaptation of the Œdipus myth. Lippold is doubtful as to the Gregory legend, but implies plainly enough the relation of Œdipus to Judas: "es ist natürlich nicht gesagt, dass die Oedipussage nur in dieser Form überliefert sei, vgl. die Geschichte vom Judas in Legenda Aurea." [4]

[1] *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, Frauenfeld, 1838, p. 154.

[2] *Edipo e la mitologia comparata*, Pisa, 1867, pp. 87, 89.

[3] *Op. cit.* Introd., pp. 8, 86, 89.

[4] *Ueber die Quelle des Gregorius Hartmanns von Aue*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 54, note.

Creizenach is positive of the Œdipodean derivation.[5] Constans[6] follows D'Ancona. Grabovski thinks that the details of the Œdipus story were transferred to the life of Judas.[7] Hermann Paul says it can hardly be doubted that the Judas legend is drawn from the story of Œdipus; and even submits a stemma for the relationship of all the principal mediæval incest tales.[8] Saintyves[9] speaks of the story of Œdipus as being applied literally to Judas, and quotes the brilliant remark of Delehaye: "L'histoire d'Œdipe a été beaucoup lue au Moyen Age sous forme de vie de saint."[10]

Other scholars, taking a less definite position, are inclined to see in the Judas legend an indirect influence of the myth of Œdipus. Du Méril, for example, regards it as at least showing a remnant of the pagan belief in fate.[11] Diederichs thinks that although the mediæval incest cycle does not preserve all the characteristics of the Œdipus story, still there is such similarity and agreement that some kind of inner relationship must be taken for granted; that these legends are not continuations and transformations (*Fort- und Umbildungen*) of the original, but are in some fashion Christian adaptations of the pagan material.[12] Cosquin says that the legend of Judas contains the general idea, though not the tragic quality of the old Greek fable; and makes a subtle distinction between the dream of Judas's mother, which predicted public evils, and

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-2.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
[7] *Podanià o związkach między naiblizszym rodzeństwem.* Wisla, 1892, VI, str. 66 (Quoted by Solovev, p. 159).
[8] Altdeutsche Textbibliothek. *Gregorius von Hartman von Aue.* 2nd ed., Halle, 1900, pp. vii-viii.
[9] *Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, Paris, 1907, p. 269.
[10] *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles, 1905, pp. 71-2.
[11] *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 324-5.
[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

the oracle of Laius, which foretold misfortunes for a single family.[13]

But a large number of scholars are still more uncertain. Cholevius does not commit himself. The memory of Œdipus alone would not have given rise to the incest stories; they are partly the result of an unclean imagination taking delight in repulsive situations. After repeating the legend of Judas he exclaims: "Hier sind Anklänge an Moses, an Naboth's Weinberg, an Bathseba und warum nicht auch an Oedipus?"[14] Gaston Paris, in his review of D'Ancona,[15] hesitated between the theory of Œdipodean derivation and the possibility of a Syriac or Judeo-Christian source. Afterwards, in his *Littérature française au moyen âge,* he refers to the legend of Judas as "imitée de celle d'Œdipe."[16] Seelisch denominates it a "volkstümliche legende," but says that it "ist wenig ins volk gedrungen, und bleibt eine *légende littéraire.*"[17] Graf is interested in demonstrating the mediæval belief in fatalism, and refuses to discuss the relation of the Œdipus to the incest cycle.[18] Solovev, who has collected with great learning and industry materials of almost every variety pertaining to Judas, does not dwell at any length on the origin of the legend of parricide and incest. He connects it with the incest cycle and says: "Several peoples might preserve in their memory the cases of a son's horrible crime, the unconscious defilement

[13] *Le lait de la mère,* etc., *Revue des questions historiques,* Apr. 1, 1908, pp. 390-1.

[14] *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen,* Leipzig, 1854, I, pp. 167-9.

[15] *Revue Critique,* IV (1869), art. 123, pp. 412-5.

[16] 4th ed., Paris, 1909, p. 223.

[17] *Die Gregoriuslegende,* in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie,* XIX (1886), pp. 419, 421.

[18] *Op. cit.,* I, pp. 273 ff.

of a mother's bed; and several peoples might make this the subject of a tale, legend, or song." [19] Istrin merely points out the similarities to the story of Œdipus, of Moses, and of Paris.[20] Dragomanov indicates the analogy of the stories of Perseus and Telephus, as well as Œdipus.[21] Professor Rand believes that the Judas legend was "based in the main on the story of Œdipus or on one of the similar tales of an unfortunate who kills his father and marries his mother." [22]

There are a few, however, who plainly deny the Œdipodean origin. Piper, considering the connexion with Œdipus too remote, lays stress on the mental atmosphere of the twelfth century. "Heiraten in verbotenen Graden, Inceste aller Art, verwickelte Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse beschäftigten geistliche und weltliche Gerichtsbarkeit, während andererseits strenge Bussübungen sich neben dem üppigsten Genussleben finden." [23] Piquet has studied chiefly the legend of Gregory.[24] Rank, a disciple of Professor Freud, inclines to the theory of innate ideas, which he calls "Psychoanalyse." His views are parallel in part to those of Solovev, but he advances them with more confidence and elaboration.[25]

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-2. I did not become acquainted with this work until after I had collected most of my material; I have, therefore, drawn on his chapter on 'Judas and Œdipus' only for information with regard to Russian versions of the legend, and for a few references to the work of Slavic scholars.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 611.

[21] Славянскитѣ прѣправки на Единовата история; Сборникъ за народни умотворенія, кн. VI. Quoted by Solovev, p. 158.

[22] *L. c.*, p. 315.

[23] *Die Legenden und die Deutschordensdichtung* ('Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters,' IIter Teil. Kürschners Nationalliteratur, III, 2), p. 4.

[24] *Étude sur Hartmann d'Aue*, Paris, 1898, p. 255.

[25] *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage*, Leipzig und Wien, 1912, p. 337.

Popular Origin. What are the essential features of the story of Judas? The mother's dream of a son predestined to a wicked career; the exposure of the new-born child on the sea; his rescue and murder of his father; and the unconscious incest with his mother. The incident of the (putative) brother whom he kills does not belong to the oldest tradition. Out of these four elements—or five, if the mother's dream and the predestined son be taken separately—the whole legend, with its later increments and variations, would easily and naturally have developed. But each of these four, or five, elements is a common possession of nearly all races; each has parallels not only in the West but also in the East. More than this: there are similar legends of the son predestined to parricide and incest for which there can hardly be question of any but a popular origin.

First, the individual motifs, in so far as they are to be found existing separately. The idea of a son predestined to an evil career is known to be extremely early; it is found in the story of the Predestined Prince, which was written down in Egypt in the twentieth, or perhaps even in the eighteenth, dynasty, and is in all probability older than that.[26] A similar tale, that of Atys, son of Crœsus, is related by Herodotus.[27] In the earlier form of the myth of Œdipus the unborn child was destined to kill his father, marry his (step)mother, and bring woes upon his house, because Laius had carried off Chrysippe, the son of Pelops. This tale was developed, on the one hand, by the Greek tragic writers, and has had an almost uninterrupted literary history; but on the other hand, it remained a possession of the folk, entirely escaped Christian influ-

[26] Graf, *Miti*, etc., I, p. 281. [27] I, 34 ff.

ence, and was still told in the last century by the unlettered in southeastern Europe.[28]

Revelation from the supernatural world to mortals by dreams is a commonplace in all lands and religions. The grandfather of Cyrus dreamed that his daughter should bring forth a grape vine;[29] the mother of the tyrant Dionysius that she should give birth to a satyr;[30] Queen Hecuba that she should bear a burning fire-brand. The birth of Jesus was foretold to Mary by an angel. The birth, name, and holiness of St. Coemgenus of Glendalough were revealed to his mother by an angel in a dream.[31] In the twelfth-century poem attributed to Ildebert of Lavardin, a married couple had a son who was predestined to kill his father.[32] In a word, the motif of the pregnant mother's revelatory dream, and that of the son predestined to misfortunes, occur at an early period, among various races, and continue to be productive into the Middle Ages and even later.

In close relation to this motif, if not inseparable from it, is the exposure of the unfortunate child, either on land or on the sea. Paris was exposed on a mountain; Œdipus, in the early tradition, on the sea, and according to later tradition, in a forest; Semirimis, in the Syrian legend, on land; and Cyrus, in the Persian legend, on land. Pelias and his twin brother Neleus were exposed by their mother

[28] Cf. Bernhardt Schmidt, *Griech. Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 143; and Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, p. 373. The Bulgarian folksong of Urisnica (A. Strausz, *Bulg. Volksdichtungen*, Wien and Leipzig, 1895, p. 218) is a reworking of the Œdipodean material perhaps from literary sources.

[29] Herodotus, I, 95.

[30] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, vii, 7.

[31] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, p. 234.

[32] Cf. Graf, *Miti*, I, pp. 296 and 309, n. 37.

Tyro and nurtured by herdsmen. In the Mahabharata Karna was set adrift in a boat, and so also were King Sargon in the Assyro-Babylonian legend,[33] Romulus and Remus, Perseus and Danaë. In the legend of Henry III, which is told in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and the *Legenda Aurea*, but is certainly of Byzantine origin,[34] the young child was exposed in a forest by the Emperor Conrad and rescued. In the Javanese legend of Raden Pakou, the son of the princess of Balambangan was set adrift in a casket and carried to Gersik.[35] In these legends generally the purpose of the exposure is to put the child to death in an indirect manner, or on the part of its parents to avoid the responsibility of bringing up a *porte-malheur*. Moses, on the contrary, was exposed in the papyrus ark in order that his life might be saved. M. Israel Lévi [36] is of the opinion that the Javanese legends of the floating chest are derivates from the Jewish story of Moses; that this story, reviewed and augmented by Jewish tradition, penetrated from Jewish into Musulman folk-lore. M. Lévi insists on the point, however, that the story does not derive from the passage in Exodus, but belongs to ancient Jewish tradition.[37] He proceeds to show that each of the essential characteristics of the legend (namely, the hero charged at birth with

[33] De la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1905, I, p. 348.

[34] Cf. S. Grudzinski in *Ztsch. f. roman. Philol.*, XXXVI (1912), pp. 546 ff.

[35] Cosquin (*op. cit.*) gives other Javanese and Indian legends related to this. Additional material in J. Hertel, *Ztsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XIX (1909), pp. 83 f.

[36] *Revue des Études Juives*, LIX (1910), pp. 1-13.

[37] "Que si les traits essentiels du thème, *et qui ne dérivent pas du texte de l'Exode*, se retrouvent chez les Juifs vivant dans un milieu juif, il faudra bien en conclure que ce thème était entré ou était né dans le folk-lore juif" (p. 4).

being the cause of public disaster, his exposure on the sea, the mysterious light that goes with him, and the miracle of the mother's milk) has its parallels in Josephus, the Midrash, and Jewish tradition. A similar story of the birth of Abraham, in Tabari, I, 137,[38] "corrobore la parenté du thème juif avec le thème commun."

Tales of unintentional parricide and even incest have in the life of primitive peoples, where a social order different from our own is developed, and polygamy or polyandry obtain, an actual as well as legendary basis. As late as the sixteenth century, Luther, in his *Table Talk*, recalls a case of unconscious incest between a mother and her son at Erfurt, which came to his notice. Averted parricide furnishes the climax of the story of Sohrab and Rustum. Perseus unwittingly slew his grandfather. Brut involuntarily killed both his father and mother. St. Julian the Hospitaller put his father and mother to death, believing they were his wife and her lover.

The incest motif is extremely frequent in all lands and ages. The manifold variations and reworkings that it received are evidence of its profound interest and popular favor. A mere glance at the nearly 700 large octavo pages of Rank's *Das Inzest-Motif in Dichtung und Sage* reveals the currency and range of the material. It is a part of the mythology of the East, of the North, of the West. Incest among the gods, Indian, Egyptian, Hellenic, is by no means uncommon; indeed, at some periods it was not reckoned a crime. Siegfried was the son of Siegmund and Sieglinde. Kinyras begat Adonis on his sister Smyrna. Saturn married Ops, his sister. Hera was the sister of Zeus.[39] In the Old Testament Ammon, son of

[38] Cf. G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden*, Frankfurt a. M., 1845, p. 68.

[39] Cf. Seelisch, pp. 388-9. It would easily be possible to multiply

David, forced his sister Tamar to lie with him. The two daughters of Lot each bore him a son. King Antiochus, in the widely diffused story, lived in illicit relations with his daughter.[40] In mediæval Europe incest stories were unusually frequent and familiar, at first under Christian influence, when stress was laid especially on the utter sinfulness of man, atonement through extreme penance, and divine mercy; and later for their own sake, out of sheer pleasure in compounding obscene relations and salacious ingenuity in devising piquant situations. It was interwoven in the *vitæ* of several holy saints, and one of the greatest of the successors of St. Peter was, according to

examples of these various motifs in the general field of folk-lore. The illustrations that I give are meant to be merely suggestive, not by any means exhaustive. For example, Otto, *Einfluss des Roman de Thèbes*, Gött., 1909, p. 17, points out the motif of the exposure of the child in Lohengrin, in the lais of Marie de France, in Galerant, in Richars li Bliaus, in Jourdain de Blavies, in Parise la Duchesse, and in Berte (where, as in Œdipus, the servants are ordered to kill the queen in a forest, but feel compassion and spare her life). Other illustrations of the exposure and incest motifs may be found in Karl Schmeing, *Flucht- und Werbungssagen in der Legende*, Münster i. Westf., 1911. An impressive view of the frequency of all these motifs in early mythology may be gained from the 'Tafel' in von Hahn's *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien*, Jena, 1876. Practically the whole of Judas's story can be related by means of the 'formulas' to which Hahn has reduced a large mass of myth and Heldensage: "4. Warnende Zeichen an einen Ascendenten. 5. Daher Hauptheld ausgesetzt. 7. Erzogen bei kinderlosem Ehepaar. 8. Uebermuth des Zöglings. 9. Dienstbarkeit in der Fremde. 13. Ausserordentliche Todesart. 14. Verleumdung wegen Blutschande und früher Tod. [The early death is of course impossible for Judas.] 16. Ermordung des jüngeren Bruders." (Tafel, p. 340.)—In the Irish saints' lives, where we find a remarkable intermingling and crossing of popular and ecclesiastic traditions, incest is no uncommon thing; see, for example, Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, p. cxxxv, n. 2.

[40] This is the story of Shakspere's *Pericles*. It is found in Latin MSS. as early as the ninth or tenth century, and is supposed to be much earlier.

the legend, not only the son of brother and sister, but also the husband of his mother.

The relationship of all the mediæval incest tales and legends—Seelisch collected nearly fifty—is exceedingly involved and doubtless too complex ever to be reduced to a satisfactory scheme. To discuss, or even to name, all of them would be out of place here, but inasmuch as many of them are interesting and important parallels to the legend of Judas, I shall undertake to give a brief survey of the earlier materials. Questions of date, it must be borne in mind, are extremely delicate and difficult. A legend which by manuscript evidence we can date no earlier than, say, the fifteenth century, may perfectly well have been current in the twelfth; while, *per contra,* there may be indisputable evidence of the existence of a tale in the twelfth century which did not become current until the fifteenth. This is especially the case with the Eastern European legends of incest, none of which can be positively dated much before the seventeenth century, but which we may unhesitatingly refer to a considerably earlier period.

The best known of these incest tales is that of St. Gregory. The oldest form of this legend is represented by a German *Volksbuch,* in which Gregory is not made pope, but bishop.[41] It is related in Latin prose in the *Gesta Romanorum* (chapter 81), from which it was translated into French, German, Polish, and Russian; and in Old French verse of the second half of the twelfth century,[42]

[41] Simrock, *Deutsche Volksbücher,* 12, 108. (Seelisch)

[42] This is probably the safest date. It is that of M. Roques (which I have from a private communication), who is preparing a new edition of the Old French poem. Littré, *Histoire de la langue française,* vol. II, argues from the language for an earlier date, some time in the eleventh century. For the more recent discussions see the work of F. Piquet, already cited.

from which it was translated into German by Hartmann von Aue at the end of the twelfth century, and from the German twice into Latin verse, besides a prose version in the *Heiligenleben* and a Swedish translation in 1524 by Johannes Matthias.[43] Since the legend may have had an influence on the legend of Judas, I shall summarize it here, from the Old French poem.

A count of Aquitania, dying, entrusts to his son the care of his daughter; but the devil inspires in the brother a carnal passion. When their fault becomes visible the brother sets out in penance for Jerusalem, and the sister, having conceived a hatred for her child, sets it adrift on the sea with tablets which relate the manner of its birth. Then, on hearing of her brother's death, she returns to her castle as Countess of Aquitania, where her hand is sought by many suitors. Still repenting her former sins she refuses all offers; but one powerful duke manifests his passion by declaring war. Meanwhile the young child is finally picked up and cared for by fishermen; but his superior blood shows itself when he overcomes a fisherman's son in a quarrel. His foster mother, becoming angry, proclaims him a miserable foundling; and in humiliation he resolves to become a knight. Setting forth with the tablets that reveal his incestuous birth, he arrives in Aquitania, vanquishes the ardent duke, and marries his mother. But through his frequent melancholy visits to the tablets which he has kept secret, the whole situation becomes patent, and recommending his mother to pious deeds he departs in mendicant's dress, comes to the coast, and is conducted to an isolated rock in the sea, where he allows himself to be fettered and the key to be thrown into the water. Seventeen years pass. A vacancy occurs on the papal throne, and an angel names the penitent Gregory. Messengers are sent out, and Gregory is found on his rock; the key is miraculously recovered; and all Rome falls down before the new pope. At length, the Countess of Aquitania, ignorant of all this, goes to Rome to confess her sins; from her story the Pope recognizes his mother; and she ends her days in a nunnery.

The origin of this legend has not been definitely determined. The opinion of scholars is about equally divided for and against the theory of an Œdipodean source; but I

[43] For the various versions and translations see Seelisch, and Paul's edition of Hartmann's *Gregorius*.

am inclined to the belief of Seelisch, who says: "Ein geschichtlicher zusammenhang beider sagen [Œdipus and Gregory] ist vielmehr bloss eine möglichkeit, die noch nicht einmal die wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, eine möglichkeit, die bis jetzt noch unbewiesen, vielleicht überhaupt unbeweisbar ist." [44]

Another legend of this group, of a more obviously popular character, is that of St. Andreas, which in the form in which we know it probably sprang up in the south of Russia, and from there spread northward and westward.[45]

A merchant learns from two doves that his wife will bear him a son who will kill his father, marry his mother, and violate three hundred nuns. As soon as the child is born they baptize it Andreas, cut open the body, and set it adrift. Thirty miles from there Andreas is picked up and taken to the abbess of a nunnery, where he grows up to be a well educated boy of fifteen. Then the devil takes possession of him so that he dishonors three hundred of the nuns. Driven from there, he comes to the town of Crete, becomes his father's servant with the special duty of watching the vineyard, and at night, mistaking his father for a thief, kills him. Soon afterward he marries his mother. She recognizes him by the scars on his body, and sends him to a priest. But the priest refuses to absolve him, and is killed by Andreas; and after slaying two more priests Andreas seeks the Bishop of Crete, who forgives him, but for penance has him chained at the bottom of a cellar and has a padlock inserted in his mother's nose and the key thrown into the sea. When the cellar becomes filled with earth Andreas will be completely forgiven. Thirty years later the mother's key is miraculously recovered, and Andreas is found seated on the top of his cellar, now filled in, busily writing his *Canon of Repentance*.

Antonovitch and Dragomanov suppose this legend to be derived from the legend of Gregory. Diederichs holds a contrary view, but points out certain rather marked resemblances to the Judas legend. Both Judas and Andreas are of humble birth. Both were predestined to kill their

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 387.

[45] Cf. Diederichs, pp. 131 ff., where the variants are discussed.

father and marry their mother. Both before the parricide have deeply sinned, Judas in slaying his supposed brother, Andreas in violating the three hundred nuns. In both legends the revelation of the incest is brought about by the mutual confessions of mother and son. Both Judas and Andreas are sent by their mother to a confessor to obtain pardon. These parallels, it seems to me, striking as they are, should be regarded as accidental rather than as fundamental; they belong to the materials on which both legends drew. But nevertheless, inasmuch as the legend of Judas and that of Andreas must have been known at some period to the same people, for both are found roughly in the same place at the same time, there is no reason to deny the possibility of contamination; and while we know that the legend of Judas acquired in southeastern Europe no new characteristics which can be paralleled in the legend of Andreas, it might have been the latter that was influenced.[46]

The most horrible, but also, it seems to me, the most moving of all the incest group is the legend of St. Albanus. This is found in several Latin manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards,[47] and without names in a twelfth-century poem (of which only a fragment is preserved) in a Rhenish dialect,[48] and in the *Gesta Romanorum*.[49]

An Emperor in the North has a child by his daughter. To prevent scandal they have it carried, with gold and precious ornaments, outside the realm, into Hungary. There, brought up by the King, the youth wins great fame for his beauty and wisdom, and marries the daughter of the northern Emperor. The King, on his death bed,

[46] For a probable origin of the Andreas legend see Seelisch, p. 417.

[47] Köhler, *Germania*, XIV, pp. 300 ff. It was first mentioned by Greith, who saw it in a Vatican MS.

[48] Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1876, I, pp. 521, 523 ff.

[49] Oesterley, no. 244, pp. 641 ff.; Oesterley, however, does not refer it to Albanus.

reveals the origin of his foster-son, and by the jewels the mother recognizes her son. She confesses all; for penance the father, daughter, and son are directed to wander seven years in sackcloth. In the seventh year they are returning joyfully, but lose their way in a desert; the father is again seized with passion for his daughter, and the son, discovering this repeated incest, kills them both, and ends his life in severe penance.

In the twelfth-century version the child is found and taken to the King of Hungary, who has his wife pretend it is her own, since they are childless. Here the adoption of the foundling by the queen who represents it as her own child strongly suggests the adoption of Judas by the Queen of Scariot.

Besides these tales of incest there is the Bulgarian legend of Paul of Cæsarea, who is the son of brother and sister, becomes king of a foreign land, and marries his mother;[50] the Italian legend of Vergogna, who is the son of father and daughter, is brought up in Egypt, returns and marries his mother, who like Gregory's has many suitors;[51] and several more tales in verse and prose, on the whole of a rather more literary than popular character. Many of them, for example the *Dit de Buef* with its variants and derivates, enjoyed great favor as moral exempla, while many others were widely read and admired for the sake of their story. Oddly enough, a small circle of incest tales grouped itself around the Virgin Mary,—such diverse stories as the ballad of Brown Robyn,[52] the *De amore inamorato* (C.D.M.R.)[53] and a wild companion-piece to the *Dit de Beuf* told by Vincent de Beauvais.[54]

[50] Cf. Diederichs, p. 124, n. 7. Köhler published (*Germania*, XV, pp. 288 ff.), a translation which Diederichs says is "nicht ganz korrekt."

[51] D'Ancona, pp. 1-60, and Introd., *passim*.

[52] Child, no. 57.

[53] *Gesta Rom.*, 13 (Oesterley, p. 291); *Speculum Hist.*, VII, 93.

[54] *Spec. Hist.*, VII, 94.

The Dutch *roman d'aventure* of Seghelijn of Jerusalem, which has distinct Byzantine affiliations, contains the motifs of the predestined son and incest with the mother. In the East of Europe there are several notable folk songs on the incest theme, including the well-known story of Simon the Foundling, the less-known Nomir and Grozdana,[55] a Finish tale,[56] and others.[57] The revolting Tale of an Incestuous Daughter (all of whose sins were conscious) which was localized in England, the bishopric of Wyan, is also an old Icelandic legend.[58] The Gregory legend has a parallel in the Caucasus,[59] and in Coptic.[60]

A striking parallel to the legend of Judas, from an entirely different source, is the Jewish tale of Joshua bin Noun.[61]

The father of Joshua, living at Jerusalem, prays God to grant him a son. His prayer is answered, but instead of rejoicing he commences to weep and fast day and night. His wife insists that he reveal to her the cause of his affliction, and finally he says that a vision from On High has announced that his son was destined one day to kill his father. The wife, believing in the revelation and wishing to avert the disaster, places the child soon after it is born in a chest and sets it adrift on the river. God sends a great fish, which swallows the chest, and one day, when the king of Egypt is

---

[55] St. Novaković, *Archiv. f. Slav. Philol.*, XI (1888), pp. 321 ff.

[56] Graesse, *Märchenwelt*, 1868, p. 208.

[57] The unconscious incest of brother and sister is the subject of a number of ballads. Cf. Child, No. 50, *The Bonny Hind*. Professor Child compares the Scandinavian ballad of Margaret (preserved in Färöe and in Icelandic) and the story of Kullervo in the *Kalewala* (rune 35).

[58] Hugo Gering, *Islendzk Æventyri*, Halle, 1882-4, II, pp. 105-8.

[59] Aug. v. Löwis, *Ztsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XX (1910), pp. 45 ff.

[60] Köhler, *Germania*, XXXVI (1891), p. 198.

[61] N. Slouschz, *Les Hébreo-phéniciens. Introduction à l'histoire des origines de la colonisation hébraïque dans les pays méditerranéens*. Paris, 1909, pp. 168-9. Israel Lévi, *Le lait de la mère et le coffre flottant*, in *Revue des Études Juives*, LIX (1910), pp. 1-13.

giving a grand feast, this fish is brought on the table. To the amazement of the lords a weeping child is discovered within the fish. A nurse is brought, and the child, growing up at the court, is later made the king's Sandator (chief executioner). Now it happens that the holy man, Joshua's father, has committed a crime against the king of Egypt, who orders his executioner to put the man to death. This is done, and according to the law of the land, the wife, children, and property of the victim fall to the hangman. Nevertheless, when the Sandator approaches his mother, the milk flows from her breasts and fills the bed. Joshua believes his mother is a sorceress, and is about to kill her, when the poor woman reveals to him his origin and the father's dream. The son penitently withdraws. Thereafter the people call him Son of a Fish.

This legend, says M. Slouschz, is taken from the Midrash Taam [62] and is confirmed by the 'Book of Tales' of the Rabbi Nissim, the Gaon of Caïrouan (tenth century). M. Lévi (p. 12) corrects this statement, and says that the legend is reported by Nathan Spira, of German origin, Rabbi of Grodno (d. 1577); who said that he found it in a Midrash, but did not specify in which one. (M. Slouschz christened it Midrash Taam.) According to Simon Chones, the editor of the *Rab Pealim* of Abraham son of Elia Gaon of Wilna, this would be in the *Hibbour* of Nissim Gaon; [63] but there is no sign of it in the *Hibbour*. M. Slouschz simply failed to verify the assertion of Chones. Therefore it appears that we have no direct authority for dating the legend of Joshua bin Noun earlier than the sixteenth century; but it is certainly older. On account of the inconsistency of supposing that the father of the Biblical Joshua, born in Egypt, was living in Jerusalem M. Lévi believes that the author was clumsily adapting a known legend to some other Joshua. The opinion of M. Slouschz is somewhat different. "Cette histoire,"

[62] Cf. *Revue des Midrashim de r. Abraham*, Varsovie, 1894, p. 23.

[63] Lévi, *Rev. des Études Juives*, XLIII, p. 283, refers the *Hibbour* to the eleventh century.

he says, (p. 169), "confirmée par des données anteislamiques,[64] ne denote guère l'intention d'embellir le rôle de Josué. Nous y verrions volontiers une version rabbinique d'un conte samaritain d'origine mythique. C'est toujours l'histoire de Jésus ou d'Adonis qui circule dans le folk-lore populaire." There is nothing to warrant the assumption that this legend is related to that of Judas. But since the intention of the legend of Judas was to blacken his name, there would be no reason (if the Christian legend *were* an adaptation of the Jewish) for averting the incest; and, moreover, the sudden marriage of Judas and his mother, in the usual legend, would be somewhat explained by the "custom of the land" in the rabbinical tale, by which wife, children, and property of a condemned man are given to the executioner. But in the absence of any adequate ground for supposing that the two legends are related, we must look upon the story of Joshua bin Noun merely as further evidence of the popularity of such tales. M. Lévi, however, is willing to go further. "La parenté étroite des deux legendes [Joshua and Judas] est frappante; l'une et l'autre remontent à un type qui avait, mieux qu'aucun autre, conservé le trait primitif et *sui generis* du lait de la mère, jaillissant à propos pour empêcher un inceste. Mais c'est la version hébraïque qui est restée le plus près de ce type."

This hasty review of mediæval incest stories, though far from exhaustive, is full enough to indicate the immense popularity of the material in the Middle Ages. Many of these tales are not demonstrably early enough to be important as direct evidence in a discussion of the origin of the Judas legend; but they do serve to show irrefutably that tales of incest were in high favor during the Middle Ages.

[64] We have seen that he is wrong in this regard.

On the other hand, so long as their popular origin remains unestablished, they cannot be adduced as proof of the popular origin of the Judas legend. Nevertheless, it is justifiable to argue that since some of these stories very probably sprang up among the people, the unlettered folk, and were composed on motifs which are known to be the property of the people in general, therefore the material out of which they were made was in the possession of the people. Or even if not one of them had its ultimate origin among the people, still some of them (witness the German *Volksbuch* of Bishop Gregory) penetrated early into the popular mind and became by so much the property of the people. Or, finally, even if *all* of these tales and legends of incest were of non-popular origin, still the materials which they contain are materials which have been familiar to the folk since days immemorial: *Therefore,* since the motifs and materials of these incest stories were the property of the people, the people could have constructed the legend of Judas, or, if we admit the popular origin of the legend of Gregory (and it is probable to a high degree), since the people were familiar enough with the material to devise one legend, it is highly probable that they were familiar enough with it to devise others. To put the case specifically: If the Middle Ages could produce the legend of Bishop (Pope) Gregory without literary sources, they could also produce the legend of Judas without literary sources.

A matter which must not be neglected in the investigation of the origins of the incest legends of western Europe is the historical background against which they may have sprung up. Greith was the first to draw atention to the *hæresis incestuosorum* which arose toward the end of the eleventh century, and which may well have been the cause of an awakened interest in the subject of incest.

For legal purposes the Justinian law reckoned degrees of relationship by generations. The Canonical law counted as it is customary for us now to count. In the year 1065 legal experts at Florence posed the question, apparently a theoretical one, whether Holy Church would sanction the marriage of near relatives on the basis of the Justinian method of computation. The faculty at Ravenna, misconstruing a passage in St. Gregory, affirmed that Holy Church would so sanction; and a mighty argument followed, in which a great deal of strong language was used on both sides. Our chief sources of information concerning this controversy are a pamphlet-letter by Petrus Damiani [65] and the Annals of Baronius, who quotes largely from Petrus.[66] Apostolic authority was called in; and two Lateran councils were of no avail, "for," says Petrus, "by the devil's art the minds of the incestuous were so case-hardened (*conglutinati*) that no fear of eternal damnation could turn them from their crime." Finally all persons held guilty of incest were excommunicated; but even this had no satisfactory effect. "Whoever," says Petrus again, "has married a noble, beautiful, or rich woman, especially if she has children, prefers to renounce God rather than his marriage; and on the contrary, he whose wife is a burden to him makes out a false genealogy, citing the dead as witnesses, and has the marriage annulled on account of relationship." [67] Henry IV of Germany issued a general edict annulling the mar-

[65] Petri Damiani humilis monachi *de parentelae gradibus*. In his complete works, ed. of 1642, III, 8, 77-83 (Seelisch). Cf. Greith, pp. 158-9.

[66] *Annales Ecclesiastici* auctore Cæsare Baronio. Vol. XVI, sub anno 1065.

[67] Quoted by Fleury, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1713, vol. XIII, book lxi, chap. 14.

riage of all who were too closely related.[68] Illegal marriages increased, and even extended into the Church. A certain Episcopus Asparensis, Pius by name, persisted in his crime, and was killed in his bed by a thunder-bolt from heaven—"O divinæ animadversionis pavenda severitas!"

The upshot of this heresy and controversy must have been that for the moment incest became a matter of great general interest. In the course of discussion and investigation, several unsuspected cases might have come to light.[69] Baronius, who had the manuscript of Petrus's *Gomorræus* addressed to Leo IX, says that the work revealed examples of incest and moral uncleanness that would all too often have offended the modesty of the reader. At such a time, if the imagination flagged in its effort to find horrible crimes for Gregory and Judas, incest would surely have suggested itself. When, therefore, such a story once got under way it was sure to have immense popularity and 'present day appeal.' Lippold objects that to damn or condone the union of persons variously related has nothing to do with the legend of Gregory. Perhaps not, directly; but in those days incest was in the air, so to say; and a matter of religious controversy among the learned might easily commend itself to the folk as a point of departure for a pious tale.[70] Toward the end of the

[68] Constantini *vita Adalberonis*, II, 15-17. *Mon. Ger.*, IV, pp. 663-4 (Seelisch).

[69] Earlier in the century there had been several incestuous marriages in high circles: Henry III and Agnes of Poictou, Konrad II and Gisela, Otto v. Hammerstein and Irmingard ("martyrs of true love"). Cf. Giesebrecht, *Gesch. der deut. Kaiserzeit*, 4th ed., Braunschweig, 1875, II, pp. 366, 162, 168, etc.

[70] A note may be added here on the incest-chronicling epitaphs which have been collected by D'Ancona and Seelisch. From Hamburg comes the following lapidary epigram:

Wunder über Wunder,
Hier liegen dran (dre?) dorunder,

eleventh century any one who wished to heap coals of ignominy on the name and character of Judas Iscariot would have had at least one suggestion ready at hand.

Enough has been said, I believe, to make it clear that in the early Middle Ages the legend of Judas could have

Vater, Sohn unde Moder,
Sästor, Dochtor unde Broder,
Mann un Wyff,—
Denn Seelen uñ van liff.

From Alincourt, near St. Quentin (and the same is reported from Clermont):

Ci git le fils, ci git la mere,
Ci git la fille avec le Pere,
Ci git la sœur, ci git le Frere,
Ci git la Femme, et le Mari
Et n'y a que trois corps icy.

From the Bourbonnais (sixteenth century):

Cy-gist la fille, cy-gist le père
Cy-gist la sœur, cy-gist le frère
Cy-gist la femme, et le mary,
Et si n'y a que deux corps icy.

On the tomb of the Count of Écouis and his daughter by his mother, Cecilia (seventeenth century):

Ci git l'enfant, ci git le pere,
Ci git la sœur, ci git le frère,
Ci git la femme et le mari,
Il ne sont que deux corps ici.

And on the tomb of Vergogna (according to the legend): "Qui giacciono due corpi morti, madre e figliuolo, e fratello e sirochia, e moglie e marito, nati di gran baronaggio dello reame di Faragona, e son in paradiso."

Finally:

Hier liegt begraben—
der Bruder mit seiner Schwester,
das Weib mit seinem Mann,
der Vater mit seinem Kind.

With the foregoing may be compared:

He's father, son, and husband mild,

sprung up and taken simple shape among the *people*. It remains now to suggest a theoretical early history for the legend on the basis of this possibility.

Judas Iscariot betrayed to death our Blessed Lord and Saviour. No act could have been more villainous. The man who could do that would be guilty of the most horrible crimes. But we know nothing of the early deeds of this Judas. He was a thief. He sold Jesus Christ to the Jews. He even took his own life. He may even have committed incest, that crime which Holy Church has just condemned so violently and punished with excommunication. If incest, probably parricide, too, equally horrible and wicked; for the mediæval mind, which invented gargoyles, knew no limits of horribleness to which it could not go.—And so perhaps (or if not so, then in some analogous fashion) the legend of Judas may have been born. If Judas married his own mother, he must have done so unconsciously: not that conscious incest would have been too much for the stomach of the time, but that it would have been too unlikely to make a good story. And first of all the story had to be a good one. It would be necessary by some means to separate him from his parents; and to manage this Herod's slaughter of the innocents might have been recalled as a reason for his departure (as in the Gascon *Passion*); or, more in accord with familiar

> I mother, wife, and yet his child,
> How they may be, and yet in two,
> As you will live, resolve it you.
>
> —Shakspere, *Pericles*, I, i, 68-72.

These epitaphs represent, for the most part, actual cases of incest. They show that even since the Middle Ages the crime has not become extinct. In earlier times it must have been, like murder and plunder, a comparatively familiar, not infrequent, though none the less heinous crime. Not until recent times has the State considered incest a penal offense.

folk-lore motifs, his father or mother would have an ominous dream and would set him adrift on the water, as Moses's mother did her son. Thus we have the outline of the legend sufficiently formed.

After this outline had taken shape, the gradual accretion of name and incidents is a matter in which both lay and ecclesiastic would take part. That portion of the development of the legend for which we have documentary evidence, and which we can follow with some feeling that we are really close to the facts, took place after the legend had come into the hands of clerks or monks, after it had penetrated into the Scriptoria of the monasteries and taken a humble station among the vitæ sanctorum to be read in the church service; and under such conditions, however the legend may have maintained itself among the people, affecting and affected by the new forms it assumed through clerical influence, we cannot expect to follow the work of the people as distinct from that of the monks, or even to separate the two at all.

In the section on the Latin versions we saw that there is reason to believe the legend existed in writing as early as the second half of the twelfth century. That the earliest written versions which have come down to us are in Latin is, of course, no argument against the theory of popular origin; for as a part of the religious literature it would inevitably have been put into Latin when written down at all. Even the twelfth-century Old French poem of the legend of St. Gregory presupposes an earlier Latin form; and the version of the Judas legend contained in the Gascon *Passion* of the fourteenth century, which probably represents an earlier form of the legend than any which is preserved in Latin, had, in all likelihood, although it may conceivably have been based on oral tradition, a Latin document for its immediate source. Among the folk,

whose memory for stories is excellent, writing was still unknown and unnecessary.

The point I have been trying to make thus far is that the legend of Judas *could* have originated among the people and existed among them in some comparatively simple form before it was taken up by the clergy and received a place among Christian legends of the Church. At the end of the thirteenth century its origin was felt to be questionable, if not suspicious. Jacopo da Voragine, and very probably his source, would not vouch for it, and felt it necessary to warn the reader. And Jacopo's doubt could not have arisen from the improbability of the story —other legends far more incredible were in full and regular standing—but there must have been, rather, some question of its legitimate birth.[71] No reputable church writer, except Jacopo, gives it his sanction by repeating it or alluding to it.

Beyond proving the *possibility* of a popular origin one cannot go; for the exact historical fact it is impossible to recover. But to prove a possibility is not to prove an actuality: and here, as it seems to me, the matter must remain, *in suspenso.*

Derivation from the Œdipus Story. Both Œdipus and Judas were predestined to an evil career. Both were exposed to death as soon as born, in order to avert the predicted evil. Both were rescued, the one by a king, the other (according to developed versions of the legend) by a queen. Both grew up at court. Both, after learning of their irregular origin, made a journey back to their birthplace, Œdipus to Thebes and Judas to Jerusalem. Both

[71] Many other legends were of popular or semi-popular origin, no doubt, and were fully accepted by the church. The fact, nevertheless, remains that the legend of Judas was always a little outside the pale.

unwittingly killed their father and married their mother. Both repented.—Thus, without too violent an effort of imagination, we can recognize in the legend of Judas the blurred outlines of the Greek myth. If we attempt to carry out the comparison in greater detail, important differences will appear, but only such differences, it seems to me, as might be the result of adapting the story of a Greek hero with pagan background to the life of an anti-hero with a Christian background.

There can be no doubt that the story of Œdipus was known in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most likely channel by which it came down from antiquity is the *Thebaid* of Statius, or rather—since the *Thebaid* recounts the earlier life of Œdipus only incidentally, in scattered fragments—some lost Latin prose redaction of Statius,[72] in which the whole story of Laius and the oracle, the sphinx, parricide, and incest was conveniently summarized. But we have also a complete though brief outline of the story in the work of the Mythographus Secundus, who wrote some time between the seventh and tenth centuries.[73] Moreover, although the story is not found in any commentary on Virgil, or scholion on Statius, we know that some such scholiastic note must have existed from the following annotation to *Thebaid* I, 61: "responderat oraculum Laio quod a filio suo posset occidi. Unde natum Œdipum iussit proici transfixis cruribus. Harum omnium seriem fabularum Œdipodis in argumento digessimus."[74]

[72] Such a redaction would be analogous to the prose compilations in which the Middle Ages knew the story of Troy, or to one of the Universal Histories that gratuitously adopted the name of Orosius.

[73] *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres*, ed. G. H. Bode, 1834. Cf. Mythographus II, Fab. 230, pp. 150-51. On the date of Mythographus II see Ferd. Keseling, *De Mythographi Vaticani Secundi Fontibus*, Halle a. S., 1908, p. 146.

[74] Keseling, p. 62.

We must note, however, that neither in the version of the Œdipus story by Mythographus II nor in the scholion on *Thebaid* I, 61 is there any similarity of language or special feature of the story to suggest that the author of Type A or of any of the Latin versions had either of those early documents before him or in memory.

As later evidence of the Œdipodean material we have in the twelfth century the *Lament of Œdipus,*[75] a moving composition by some unknown poeta scholasticus, and the *Roman de Thèbes;*[76] and in the fourteenth century the *Roman d'Edipus.*[77] The trouvère of the *Roman de*

[75] Published by Ozanam, *Les écoles et l'instruction publique en Italie aux temps barbares, Oeuvres,* Paris, 1855-9, II, pp. 377 ff.; and from a thirteenth-century MS. by Du Méril (1854); later by Morell, M. Schmidt, and Dümmler. It begins:

Diri patris infausta pignora,
ante ortus damnati tempora,
quia vestra sic iacent corpora,
mea dolent introrsus pectora.

Fessus luctu, confectus senio,
gressu tumens labante venio;
quam sinistro sim natus genio
nullo capi potest ingenio.

There are twenty-one stanzas, some of them on two rimes (a, a, b, b), and some, as the above, on one rime.

[76] Constans, *La légende d'Œdipe,* Paris, 1881; Constans, ed. *Roman de Thèbes* (Soc. des anc. textes franç.), Paris, 1890, two vols. (vol. I, the text, vol II, the introduction). "Nous pouvons donc admettre," says Constans (II, p. cxviii), "jusqu'à preuve du contraire, que notre poème à été composé vers 1150, plutôt avant qu'après."

[77] This composition, which Comparetti stigmatized as the work of a *basso letterato,* is only a portion of the fourteenth-century prose redaction of the *Roman de Thèbes,* made when the romances were read preferably in prose compilations. It doubtless existed separately before it was incorporated in the pseudo-Orosian Universal Histories. In the fifteenth century the *Roman d'Edipus* was printed from MS. fr. 301 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and again by Silvestre in his collection

Thèbes prefixed to his poem a prologue of more than 500 verses,[78] not in Statius, narrating the story of Œdipus with considerable fulness.

Laius goes to consult 'his god' and learns that he will beget a son who shall murder his father. As soon as the child is born Laius orders three servants to expose it in a forest. Polibus, hunting, rescues the child and names him Edipus. At fifteen he is made knight and surpasses all his comrades; but the jealous courtiers hint at his unusual origin, and he determines to inquire of the oracle of Apollo. The oracle directs him to Thebes; and on the road, meeting a crowd celebrating festival games, he mixes in the general mêlée that arises from the quarrel of two contestants and ignorantly slays his father. The Thebans sorrowfully remove their king to the temple; and Jocasta declares that since she lost her son fifteen years before she has never ceased to mourn for him. Edipus continues on his way, meets the Sphinx (Spin), solves her riddle, and puts her to death. He is then led in triumph before the queen, who falls in love with him, although he has confessed under pledge of secrecy that it was he who slew Laius. Jocasta, secretly rejoicing when the people ask Edipus to be their king, conceals her emotions for the sake of appearances, and consents to marry Edipus only when her barons insist. After twenty years, during which they have four handsome children, the queen discovers the scars on Edipus's feet; and he, being pressed, relates his early life. The executioners are summoned, and confess the truth. Edipus in grief tears out his eyes and withdraws into voluntary imprisonment.—Here Statius begins.

Such is the story of Œdipus as the twelfth century relates it—"une simple matière à *roman*." The essential traits of the Greek narrative are preserved, but the Greek spirit is gone. Most notable is the manner in which the parricide is smoothed over and in the revelation after twenty years quite forgotten. The profound meaning with

(1858). The story of Œdipus occupies the first four folios of this MS. From the fourteenth-century prose version of the *Roman de Thèbes* Lydgate probably wrote in 1421-2 his *Story of Thebes*. This Old French prose redaction is found in more MS. than the poem, and probably enjoyed a greater vogue. On the *Roman d'Edipus* cf. Constans, *Œdipe*, pp. 338 ff.

[78] In one version this prologue contains more than 900 verses.

which the Greek tragic writers invested the story is lost, but although the outline is somewhat distorted and the coloring completely faded, it is still the story of Œdipus; and one must not confuse the myth itself with its interpretation by Æschylus and Sophocles.

The *Roman de Thèbes* was probably composed by 1150. The Latin prose versions of the story of Thebes which it presupposes must have been written earlier. And since we have no direct evidence to indicate that the Judas legend was in existence earlier than 1150,—in fact, we have only inferential grounds for thinking it was so early,—there can be no reasonable objection, on the score of dates, to the hypothesis that the immediate source, by adoption, of the Judas legend was the prologue to the *Roman de Thèbes*. But such an hypothesis is not necessary, for we have other evidence, besides the *Roman de Thèbes,* to show that the story of Œdipus was known in the twelfth century.

Some early references to materials from the Theban cycle are given by Constans;[79] and although most of the allusions are too late to be of value for the present purpose, those from the Provençal poets are early enough to be pertinent. The *Cabra juglar* of Guiraut de Cabreira (ca. 1170?), the *Gordo, ieus fas* of Bertran de Paris du Rouvergne (middle of the thirteenth century), and the *Fadet joglar* of Guiraut de Calanso (also of the mid-thirteenth century) contain references not only to Theban matter but also specifically to the story of Œdipus. It is, of course, absurd to deny that these allusions may be reminiscences of the *Roman de Thèbes,* as Constans supposes; but there is always the possibility that these poets were in possession of some separate version of the Œdipus tale

[79] *Œdipe,* pp. 349 ff.

(as apart from the whole story of Thebes) which was current at the time of the composition of the *Roman de Thèbes*, or even before.[80] Certain it is, at any rate, that whatever materials and sources the trouvère of the *Roman de Thèbes* may have used, they were not his sole property. As I have said, they must have existed before 1150, and how much earlier no one can tell. Such things do not spring out of the ground, they do not come into being suddenly. Their existence at a certain date necessarily implies not only their existence at an earlier date, but also and equally a not inconsiderable antecedent history. We may therefore reasonably infer, even without the evidence of Mythographus Secundus, that the story of Œdipus was known in western Europe in the first half of the twelfth century, and probably in the eleventh.[81]

The theory of an Œdipodean source for the legend of Judas carries with it an important corollary. It cannot be shown with the slightest degree of probability that the Œdipus myth was familiar to the folk in the early Middle Ages. With the tragic dramatists of the Periclean age the myth passed into the category of written literature,

[80] Cf. W. Keller, *Das Sirventes "Fadet joglar" des Guiraut von Calanso, Romanische Forschungen*, XXII (1906), pp. 99-238, esp. pp. 129 and 218-19. I am indebted to this article and to R. Zenker's *Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage* (*Ztsch. f. fran. Sprache u. Litt.*, XLI (1913), p. 147) for this suggestion of an independent version of the Œdipus story.

[81] In view of the facts that one of the simplest surviving versions of the Judas legend is from Provence; that the earliest mediæval allusions we possess to the Œdipodean material are by Provençal poets; and that the *Roman de Thèbes* was composed probably by a southern poet of the langue d'oïl; one may be tempted to suggest that the legend of Judas, if based on the story of Œdipus, originated in the South of France. Such a mere hypothesis, however, without more support than it has, can not, of course, be deemed of real significance.

and since then it has remained, among all the nations that inherited Greek civilization, in the same category. In parts of south-eastern Europe the people have preserved a tradition of Œdipus and the sphinx, but much worn and modified; and the alterations which the story has undergone in these popular versions make it impossible that the Judas legend could have taken its origin from them.[82] In western Europe literary tradition alone has preserved the story. When, therefore, we argue that the life of Judas is derived from the myth of Œdipus, we absolutely exclude the theory of a popular origin for the legend, and commit ourselves to the theory of a clerical or ecclesiastical origin.

There is no difficulty, however, in the theory that the life of Judas was invented by some early monk on the basis of the Œdipus story. In this connexion Solovev has a suggestive paragraph (p. 181) in which he refers to Origen's discussion of prophecy and its bearing on the event. Origen compares the Psalmist's prediction of the crime of Judas [83] with the prophecy of the oracle of Laius.[84] This comparison, comments Solovev, gives a certain support to the hypothesis of an Eastern origin of the legend,[85] and permits us to carry it back to the first centuries (къ первымъ вѣкамъ) of the Christian era. Another consideration, he continues, favoring the adaptation to Judas of the Œdipodean crimes might be the appearance of the sect of Canaites-Judaites; or, in other words, the legend

[82] For these versions see Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, II, pp. 114, 310; Graesse, *Märchenwelt*, p. 208; Sakellarios, Τὰ Κυπριακά, III, p. 147 (translated by Comparetti in Appendix to D'Ancona, p. 115).

[83] Ps. CIX.

[84] Origen *Contra Celsum*, II, 20 (M. S. G., 11, 836-7).

[85] This was the theory of Grabovski (and also of Gaston Paris). It became utterly untenable after Istrin published the Greek versions of the legend.

may indicate a protest against the heretical apologies for Judas. But on examining this "comparison" (сопоставление) of Origen's in its context, we find it to be a mere juxtaposition. Celsus, says Origen, thinks that the fulfilment of a prophecy is the result of the prophecy; but we will not agree that the prophet by foretelling a thing causes it to happen; rather, the thing would take place even if it had not been predicted. In applying this doctrine Origen takes first an illustration from Scripture, showing that Judas did not betray our Lord because it was prophesied that he would; and then an illustration from Greek literature, showing that the calamities did not befall Laius because of the oracle, but because he did not refrain from begetting a son, (the oracle being merely a warning). The two illustrations are slightly contrasted by *μέν* and *δέ*.

The sum total which we derive from the passage in Origen is this. In making his point against Celsus, Origen, knowing two literatures, draws on them both, and in the same sentence mentions Œdipus and Judas. Some monk, in the eleventh century, let us say, perusing Origen's *Contra Celsum* (in a Latin translation, of course) was struck by the combination; and what was in the original only a literary allusion fructified after many generations in the mind of a Western reader—that is, suggested the equation: Judas = Œdipus.

Furthermore, there is another passage in Origen where Judas and incest are put side by side. In commenting on Matthew 27, 3 ff. he has a long discussion of Judas's repentance and the part played by Satanic power in Judas's crime, in which he says: If it were necessary to give an example of the Devil's influence in the deeds of men I could refer to the man in I. Corinthians who had his father's wife. This suggestion, too, is very slight; but in

the absence of all direct evidence I need hardly offer an apology for adducing it.

With regard to an Œdipodean origin of the legend of Judas we now reach the following conclusions. This theory, which has been held by several distinguished scholars and had not been directly impugned until the present inquiry, is perfectly tenable, provided the legend is granted to be of a literary or ecclesiastical character. Against the theory nothing important can be urged, except on general *a priori* grounds; and there are many considerations of unquestionable weight in its favor.

We can even see what may have suggested the adaptation to Judas of the life and crimes of Œdipus. Starting with the explicit idea, Judas=Œdipus, we should have, assuming that the unusual story of Œdipus was known, an initial attempt to graft the crimes of Œdipus upon the name of Judas,—a comparatively simple matter to undertake, inasmuch as the life of Judas prior to his apostolic call is left blank by the Synoptists. . . . The first problem in adaptation would be the oracle; which, being totally non-Christian, would have to be replaced. In other words, our imaginary adaptor would seek some motivation for the exposure of the child. For this there was nothing handier than Herod's slaughter of the innocents. Since, further, the wound in Œdipus's feet would no longer be available for the subsequent recognition, our author takes the simplest and most obvious substitute—branding. Instead of exposure in a forest, the more Biblical expedient, drawn directly from the story of Moses, of placing the infant in a small boat, would easily have suggested itself. But unlike Moses the child Judas had to travel a certain distance from home, in order to be brought up by a foreign king. Then it was necessary to get the child, when grown, back to its parents. The

Greeks, more subtle, motivated this journey, but our mediæval adaptor felt no such need: the father simply came to the land where Judas was, and in a quarrel was slain by his unknown son. To escape the penalty of his crime, Judas fled, came to Judæa, married his mother, and was recognized by her as her son. Here our author's invention flagged; he merely superimposed the story of Œdipus on Judas, without much effort to make it fit. Finally, to fasten the imaginary life of Judas to the known, there was nothing more obvious than repentance on Judas's part and Jesus's forgiveness—did He not also forgive the woman taken in adultery? comments our author, to himself.

This story, it need hardly be pointed out, is nothing but the Provençal version of the legend as it is preserved in the fourteenth-century *Passion*. That is to say: the Provençal version of the legend may readily be regarded as the natural and simple result of an effort to adapt the story of Œdipus to the figure of Judas. Whether this is the earliest or 'original' adaptation, we have no means of determining. And how it should have happened to be preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript, one is not prepared to explain. Still one cannot deny that such might well be the case. Nor could one easily tell why this very early (or earliest) form of the legend should have been preserved only in the Gascon *Passion*.

From this version of the legend to the Latin Type A is a comparatively long step. Whatever the intention, conscious or unconscious, of the originator of this legend may have been, by the time it reached the hands of the author of Type A the emphasis had shifted. But here I suspect we have to deal with the personality of an individual, a personality which touched this one rendering and not the whole legend. Type A begins: "There is nothing hidden

which shall not be revealed," and closes with a benediction, and almost a plea for Judas: "And do Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us. He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved."[86] Here a new motivation for the exposure has been found, not perhaps a better one, but one more in consonance with the oracle. Judas's father had a vision, just as Laius had the oracle's prophecy. Following his vision the father, again like Laius, exposed his new-born son in a forest, but for Phocis we have Scarioth (from Judas's name in the New Testament) and there is no mention of a king or prince as there is in the story of Œdipus. This lack is balanced, however, by the reappearance of Herod, not, however, as the cause of Judas being exposed on the water but merely in his historical rôle of governor of Judea, as the king whom Judas served. In obedience to an order from his king Judas unwittingly met and killed his father. There may have been a reminiscence of Naboth's vineyard here (1. Kings 21); and the symbolism of the apples is fairly obvious, though it may have been unconscious. From this point the story continues on its own account. The consequences of the murder have to be considered. The friends of the murdered man seek justice, and Herod, not entirely of his own initiative (*accepto concilio*), adopts the expedient of marrying plaintiff and defendant.[87] So the redactor of Type A has solved the complication which was too much for the Provençal poet. Thenceforward, save for the added moral, there is no variation from our 'original.'

[86] Weyman remarks that this vita "scheint—nach der Formel 'tu autem Dominae miserere nostri' . . . zur erbaulichen Lesung in einer klösterlichen Kommunität, vielleicht bei Tisch, verwendet worden zu sein" (*Wochensch. f. klass. Philol.*, 25. Mai, 1914, p. 580).

[87] Here it is important to note that Herod is "et ipse turbatus"; he does not play the part of Judas's companion or coadjutor in sin.

In certain respects the story in Type A seems to be almost entirely remade. There are three important alterations: the substitution of the vision, the introduction of the apples as a partial motivation of the parricide, and the removal from Judas of any personal motives in marrying his mother.

But, on the other hand, let us assume that the Latin Type A, and not the Provençal version, represents the earliest or original adaptation of the Œdipus story to Judas. This assumption is as reasonable as the other (that the Provençal version represents the original form of the adaptation), because the simplest version is not *necessarily* the earliest, although it is likely to be; but especially because in many respects Type A is simpler than the Provençal version. The latter we may regard merely as an unaccountable offshoot, a *per*version. On comparing Type A directly with the story of Œdipus we find the similarities so striking and the divergences, with one exception, so slight and so natural that it is easy to look upon Type A as the original attempt to graft the Œdipodean crimes on the early life of Judas. According to Type A Judas is exposed in a forest, like Œdipus. His tibias are pierced when he is abandoned, like Œdipus's ankles. Like Œdipus he is rescued by shepherds. Like Œdipus he is recognized by his wife-mother from his scars. There is no parallel in the Œdipus story for the figure of Herod, or for his rôle in Type A. We must allow here for the originality of the adaptor; but since the writer of Type A was (as we have seen) no mere ignorant scribe, but a man of some personality and understanding, such an allowance is easy and natural.

It appears, therefore, that not only in theory but also in practice it is possible to trace the descent of the Judas

legend from the myth of Œdipus. But I have also shown, above, that the legend could have sprung up among the people, without any influence of the Œdipus story or of any literary sources. Which of these two possibilities represents the actual historical fact?

Both possibilities are, it seems to me, equally probable, so far as we can accumulate means for judging. By the very nature of the case neither can be proved. The fact that an Œdipodean provenance has the *appearance* of being more probable must not be admitted as an argument; for it means only that the theory of an Œdipodean origin is simpler to comprehend and easier to follow. It is perhaps not quite so difficult for us to *see* how such an adaptation could have taken place, as to understand how the idea of Judas the incestuous parricide should have emerged and taken shape among the folk. But this difficulty lies in *us*, not in the matter itself. Popular psychology is in the main somewhat incomprehensible; and when we go back to the Middle Ages it is infinitely less intelligible. The theory of popular origin is, however, none the less plausible because it is more difficult to comprehend.[88]

Both theories, then, are equally possible. Both are equally probable. There are as many and as weighty objections to the one as to the other. Any decision in favor of the one side or the other must be made, I believe, on purely subjective grounds; for to one person one set of arguments may make the stronger appeal, while to another person the same arguments may be less impressive or less satisfactory. The problem leaves us at a *non constat.* —*Tota res claudicat.*

[88] On the other hand, the argument in favor of a popular origin is more intricate, and may perhaps have received a false emphasis on account of the greater amount of space devoted to it.

Development of the Legend from Type A to Type RL. Bearing in mind always that the paucity of our data renders any attempt to trace the development of the legend extremely difficult, let us proceed with our hypothetical history. From the gentle and dignified version of the St. Victor manuscript (Type A) there probably developed, on the one hand, the humanistic version which had its home in Hainault (Type H), and, on the other hand, that rendering of the story (Type RL)—earlier perhaps than the humanistic version—which was destined, in two distinct forms, to become *κατ' ἐξοχήν the legend,* from one or the other form of which most of the mediæval versions, both Latin and vernacular, drew. And somewhere between Type A and Type RL in development and perhaps in time fall the Greek texts, although the manuscripts that preserve them are even later than the mediæval period.

Neither of the two Greek versions is the original of the other, but both contain elements of an earlier redaction; that is, there probably existed, anterior to both the Dionysius text and the Iveron (i. e., to A and B), a Greek version from which both of these are directly or indirectly descended.[89] This early, assumed text we may call X. If we try roughly to conjecture the form and development of the Greek original, X, from the Latin Type A, we may proceed as follows.

The father's vision in Type A becomes in X the mother's dream, which the father tends to make light of: an easy change, with a firm basis in human nature. The later

[89] So much, at least, we are justified now in saying. But it is quite likely that the matter is still more complicated, and that there were more Greek versions of the legend than the two which we possess. The other MSS. on Mt. Athos (see above, p. 522) probably contain different texts from those that we have.

Greek text, B, representing, it is likely, an original trait, explains that the child was cast upon the sea καθὼς τὸ πάλαι τὸν Μωϋσῆν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον. The Dionysius text, A, employs the word θίβη — in B it is κιβώτιον, though later θίβη — which is the Septuagint translation of תיבה.[90] Then an interesting change is made which can only be explained as the Greek redactor's freedom in handling his source: the child, which is rescued by shepherds, is brought back and adopted by its own parents. This innovation is not so surprising, however, as the introduction of an entirely new incident, namely, the fratricide. It is possible that some earlier Latin version, which has not survived, also contained the incident of the fratricide, and that therefore this is not an invention of Greek X. Certainly there is nothing in the incident itself to suggest an Eastern rather than a Western origin. At all events, the Greek version, making Judas kill his own brother, not his supposed brother (as in Type RL) is more horrible, and calculated to impress us more thoroughly with his inherent wickedness. The motive given for this crime is avarice, which is in harmony with the Gospels. Indeed, avarice may have been the starting point from which the whole incident of the fratricide grew up; but the more obvious source is a comparison of Judas and Cain. That Judas kills his brother, in X, with a stone is significant, and can hardly be anything but a reminiscence of Cain. Judas thereafter flees to Jerusalem; and so it becomes necessary, for the plot's sake, to have his parents move thither also. The incident of the apples is merely expanded from Type A; it is not changed at all. Quite new, however, is the figure of Herod as Judas's accomplice after the fact in the murder of his father. But this is

[90] Exod., 2, 3.

only the working out of an already latent motif, that of Herod the cruel, as, with the passage of time, the mediæval hatred of all who partook in the death of Christ increased. In the earliest [91] version of the legend, the Provençal, in which Judas married his mother for love, a certain mutuality of feeling was implied, and this not so much divided the opprobrium between mother and son as left the whole marriage to Fate. At the next stage, in Type A, the situation is somewhat changed but is not much stronger. Here, at length, in the Greek version, we have not indeed a fresh insult to Judas but a direct fling at Herod; or possibly, inasmuch as the widow marries her husband's murderer rather than lose her property, we have a glance at the Jewish appreciation of the value of riches. The remainder of the Greek version offers nothing new except that the recognition of the mother and son is intended apparently to be brought about in a more subtle fashion: instead of the simple branding mark, we have the mother's laments and the son's perception of his guilt.

To sum up, the legend has in the Greek versions undergone five main changes. The father's vision has become the mother's dream. The child is brought up unwittingly by its own father and mother. Judas slays his own brother. Herod has become Judas's accomplice in evil, and, though ignorantly, has forced an incestuous marriage. The recognition is psychological not physical. Great as these alterations are, they are still susceptible of an explanation which is not too strained; and considering the number of hands through which the legend must have passed during this growth, such changes are quite conceivable. In truth, the incident of the fratricide is the only addition to Type A; the rest can be properly included under the term development.

[91] That is, earliest *ex hypothesi*.

The next step, from the Greek texts to the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Latin redactions, is much simpler. It is not to be supposed, of course, that these Latin redactions, represented by Type RL, derived either directly or indirectly from the Greek version, but that the Greek version exhibits a stage of the legend's development which falls naturally and logically between Type A and Type RL. If we might disregard the geographical position of the Greek version the case would be much simpler: for the evolution from Latin Type A to Greek X to Latin Type RL is normal and easy to follow. But in view of the clear impossibility of regarding Type RL as descended from the Greek version or as in any way influenced by it, we can only postulate a lost Latin version, closely similar to the Greek version, which would bridge the interval between Type A and Type RL; nor would such a postulation be, in the nature of things, remote or inconsistent.[92] The similarity of the Greek version to this assumed Latin version might be purely fortuitous, but it is more likely to be the result of borrowing, or of dependence of some kind.

The creation of an Island of Scarioth on which Judas passed, according to Type RL, his early life may be due to the fact that on the island of Corfù there was a district called Skaria which was for a long time believed to be the birthplace of Judas. In Type RL, certainly, the name Searioth, which in Type A had been vaguely a place, and in the Greek version was a sea-port town (Iskara, Iskaria) opposite the island to which Judas drifted, had become attached to the island. The next change that we meet in Type RL is that Judas is rescued, not by shep-

[92] It is quite in accord, for example, with Professor Rand's stemma (p. 316); it would correspond to his γ.

herds as in Type A and the Greek version—an apparently Œdipodean trait which so far has persisted—but by the queen of the island. This change probably took place in the West, and is strikingly parallel to the legend which is found, without names, in a twelfth-century German poem, and which was later given to St. Albanus. Here the child of the emperor and his daughter is adopted by the king and queen of Hungary because they have no children of their own, and in order to deceive his people the king has his wife feign to be with child before he announces the foundling as his heir. Being in Type RL only the adopted son of the queen of Scarioth, Judas is not actually guilty of fratricide when he slays the queen's own son; and there is no implication of avarice as the motive of this murder, as there is in the Greek version. The only other change of importance in the development from the Greek version to Type RL is in the transference of Herod's rôle to Pilate. This is but natural. During the Middle Ages Pilate enjoyed a disgraceful popularity, second—if second—only to Judas; his legend was even more elaborate than Judas's; whereas Herod early fell into the background and became merely a comic figure in the mysteries. In many details there are, of course, other variations between the Greek version and the Latin Type RL, but although interesting in themselves as reflecting the various unknown personalities that left an impress on the legend, and as indicating in some measure new points of interest as time went on—for example, the comparative space given to purely Biblical and legendary material, or the varying emphasis on Judas's suicide—these do not affect the development of the legend in its essentials. As it gradually shifted from Latin to the different vernacular languages, it took on various bits of local and temporal color which it would be supererogatory to point out; it was dressed in

the garb of poetry; it was used for apologetic purposes; and in other ways suffered new modifications of detail, new adjustments to meet new demands.

One matter remains to be considered: the proper names. In the Provençal version only *Judas, Jesus,* and *Herod* are named, and Herod is in *Jerusalem.* Type A adds one name: *Scarioth,* but this was taken directly from the New Testament, and used merely to designate the place where Judas grew up. The Greek versions give the father's name as Ῥόβελ, which is probably not of Greek origin. This circumstance lends some support to our hypothesis of an intermediate Latin version between Type A and the Greek versions, in which the name Reuben would have occurred. Reuben is a familiar Biblical name, and not without its suggestiveness. It was chosen "perhaps with the idea of prophesying grimly the action of the son."[93] Type H has *Symon* for the father's name, which is taken from John 6, 71; and this appears as a variant name in Type RL and a few other early versions. Not until the legend had reached practically its full development, in Type R of the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, and in Type L of the early thirteenth century, do we find the name of Judas's mother, *Ciborea,* a name suggested perhaps by Zipporah (Moses's wife), which was spelled in various ways.[94] At the

[93] Rand, p. 312. Cf. Gen. 35, 22 and 49, 4. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach Jüdischen Quellen,* p. 219, makes the same point.

[94] Professor Rand compares the name of one of the midwives, Shiphrah, Gen. 1, 15 (he spells it *Sephora* and intimates that it is the same name as Moses's wife's), and makes the rather subtle point that since the name Ciborea "is connected with Moses' birth as well as his marriage" it "thus suggests as nearly as anything Biblical can, the mother-wife" (p. 312, n. 3). The connection is somewhat tenuous. Gaston Paris was the first to suggest the relation of Ciborea to Zipporah or Sepphorah. Krauss makes the same observation (p. 219).

same time appear the first notices of Judas's race. The Dionysius text says that he was *ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, the Iveron text omits even this; the former says that he came *ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἰσκάρας*; the latter *ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν Ἰσκάρια*. In certain manuscripts of Type RL Judas is said to be from the tribe of Judah, probably from the similarity of the two words; in other manuscripts and in Type L generally Judas is of the tribe of Dan, "in memory perhaps of Isidore's identification of Dan with Antichrist." [95] Olshausen [96] conjectured that Judas was said to be from the tribe of Dan because of Gen. 49, 17: "Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path"; and one of the Russian translations of the *Legenda Aurea* version has actually incorporated this passage from Genesis in the text. The Halle *Realencyclopœdie* [97] and Strauss,[98] however, reject this conjecture. Various legends have connected Judas with the tribe of Dan,[99] obviously on account of the evil reputation of Dan and the Danaites, and we need not ascribe the reference in the legend to any particular source.

Apropos of the Danaitic descent of Judas Krauss has a suggestion of the origin of the legend which is worthy of our notice, but which, without additional support, can hardly be regarded as more than a hint. Judas was from the tribe of Dan, and Antichrist was born "Danitica matre." Moreover, Jesus had called Judas *diabolus*,[100]

[95] Rand, p. 312. *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae*, 42 (M. S. L., 83, 107.)

[96] *Commentar zu den Evangelien*, II, p. 458.

[97] II, pp. 26, 241.

[98] *Leben Jesu*, 3rd ed., II, p. 406.

[99] Ephream Syriacus, I, 192 D, tells us that "coluber antichristus Danitica matre nascetur." I am indebted to Krauss, pp. 215 ff. for several of these references.

[100] Jn. 6, 70.

and diabolus might easily have been taken in the sense of Sathanas. Judas assumes the rôle of Antichrist; and it is but natural and logical that he should be accredited with incest.[101]

Let us recapitulate briefly the points made in this section. The various motifs which appear in the Christian legends of mediæval Europe are those which are found repeatedly in the folk-lore of earlier times in Greece and in Asia. The legend of Judas is no exception to this generalization, and all the incidents out of which it is built up may be paralleled by examples from older popular stories, not only individually but also in similar combinations. Whence we conclude that this legend may have been the work of popular imagination or memory, putting together familiar details and motifs. At the same time, we recognize the similarity of the legend of Judas with the story of Œdipus, and find no reason why it may not have been an appropriation and adaptation of the Greek myth. Between these two possibilities of the origin of the legend we cannot make a logical choice. But whatever may have been the source of the legend, we can trace with a certain degree of probability its gradual development from the original idea to a somewhat complex though rather crude tale. The probable date of its appearance is late in the eleventh century, when incest was a familiar theme; but the earliest manuscript evidence we have is for some time in the second half of the twelfth century. If the legend was of popular origin the former date is more probable; but if it was derived from the story of Œdipus there is nothing to warrant the assumption of an earlier

[101] Krauss, p. 219. On incest attributed to Antichrist cf. Krauss, 215 ff., and W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göttingen, 1895. (Translation by A. H. Keane, London, 1896, p. 157 n.)

date than the second half of the twelfth century, although there is also nothing to be urged against an earlier date. Certainly by the beginning of the thirteenth century the legend had attained its full development, for all subsequent redactions are merely varying reworkings of the same material.

Conclusion

From the very beginning Judas has been more a figure of legend than of history. Although the efforts of 'advanced' critics to make him out an altogether legendary character have proved abortive, still we have to agree that not all of the Gospel details concerning him can be historically accurate. Two actually contradictory accounts of his death are recorded by his supposed contemporaries; and during the second generation after his own a story of his death was current, vouched for by one of the disciples of St. John, which is now admitted by all to be purely legendary. In the later centuries, from the Apostolic Age to the mediæval period, almost every Scriptural reference to him was elaborated with mystical and imaginative commentary. And then, in the Middle Ages, that trysting place of stories from the North and the East and the South, was born the particular legend which I have studied in this article.

The earliest history of this legend is entirely lost. When we first find it written down it is in Latin in France. The earliest manuscript which contains the legend was written in the twelfth century at St. Victor; what we may regard as the earliest *form* of the legend is preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Gascon dialect. But early thirteenth-century versions which imply its existence in the twelfth are found in France, in England, in

Bavaria, and in Italy. We infer, therefore, that the legend was known to the learned at the beginning of the thirteenth century throughout western Europe (except Spain). But how far this knowledge was shared by the laity we have no means of ascertaining. The mere fact that our earliest written record of the legend is in Latin signifies nothing. Nor can we draw any pertinent conclusion from the fact that the legend does not appear in the vernacular languages until the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. But at this time we find it as far East as Bohemia and as far West as Catalonia. During the fourteenth century it moved northward into Scotland and Ireland, and into Denmark and Scandinavia. Afterwards, we cannot tell exactly when, it passed into Finland, Great Russia, Little Russia, Galicia, Poland, and Bulgaria. In Greek we have only very late documents; but from the form of the legend in its Greek versions we infer that it must have reached Byzantium through the Latin at some time during the mediæval period, perhaps very early.

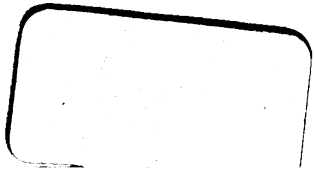
The most astonishing item in the history of the Judas legend is its aftermath in the chap-book literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After about two centuries of apparent eclipse it reappeared in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, England, Wales, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. To what extent it is known to the folk of Europe to-day we cannot judge. Istrin was of the opinion that it is still more or less current in southeastern Europe, although no evidence has been gathered or published. But as civilization advances such legends tend to die out; as what we call the 'modern interpretation of the Bible' gains more adherents, the somewhat bigoted and entirely unchristian hatred of Judas which this legend

represents must decline. In fact, now among all the enlightened peoples of the West that unpleasant tale of homicide, parricide, theft, incest, treachery, and suicide which passed for the life of Judas Iscariot has become only a record of the semi-barbarity of our ancestors,—a kind of gargoyle on the cathedral of the Middle Ages.[102]

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

[102] In the *Sammelband von Materialien zur Beschreibung der Länder und Völker des Kaukasus*, vol. XXXII (Tiflis, 1903), there is a Cossack legend of Judas which probably belongs here. Cf. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIV (1904), p. 347. See also Этнографічний Збірник, III, p. 70; and R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La légende de Judas Iscariote* in *Revue hispanique*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 135-149. These references came to my attention after the above article was already in print, and I have been unable to examine them.

CONSERVED
10/05 LC
HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY



3 2044 011 199 916